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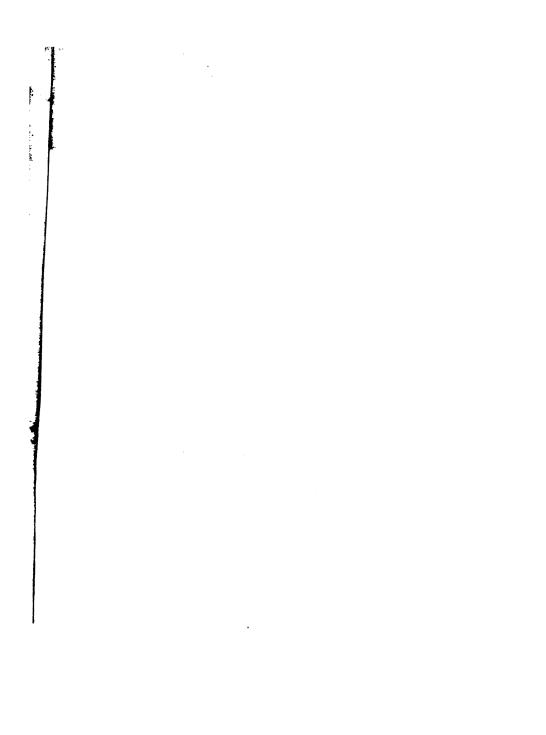
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CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL

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HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

FROM THE

FIRST INVASION OF BRITAIN

TO THE PASSING OF

THE CATHOLIC RELIEF BILL IN 1829.

By C. ST. GEORGE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.—VOL. I.

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INTRODUCTION.

As I feel it may be expected that a person should give a reason for offering to the public a new History of England when there are already so many excellent productions on the subject, I beg leave to state that my motive originated from observing the facility with which every branch of education is now acquired, through the judicious mode of blending amusement with the principles on which they are taught. With this conviction on my mind, and with a belief that many very material points in English history had been either overlooked, or unfairly represented, by those who had gone before me, I undertook the compilation of the present work; how far I may have succeeded, I leave to an indulgent public to judge.

I have not knowingly omitted any historical fact of importance. Among the several historians I have quoted, I have had recourse to the works of Mr. George Courtney Lyttleton and the Reverend Dr. Lingard most frequently. The first, on account of the variety of anecdote with which his history is interspersed; the second, from the known respect paid to his authority, and because his being the most recently written history, it possesses the superior advantage of lapse of time in its development of political events. In giving the reign of George the Third, I consulted the Reverend Dr. Bisset's Life of his late Majesty, and other writers of that period. That part which relates to the royal branch of

Stuart, which is now extinct, I selected from various original documents in the British Museum. I regret that a collection of anecdotes from private papers belonging to that family, and which a friend had the goodness to procure for me, did not arrive from Paris until the work had come from the hands of the Printer: they shall, however, be carefully preserved, in the hope that at a future opportunity they may be brought forward. I have touched only briefly on those events of the present reign which delicacy, or a feeling that may be better understood than expressed, forbade a search into; but as the Catholic Relief Bill forms a new and important epoch in English history, I have given as detailed an account of that transaction as the limits of the work would permit.

With this short explanation of my views in the present undertaking, I venture to solicit the indulgence of those who may honour it with a perusal; and with anxious and earnest hopes for its success,

> I beg to subscribe myself their obedient, And very humble servant, C. St. George.

London, Jan. 1, 1830.

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HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

CHAPTER I.

BRITAIN UNDER THE ROMANS.

For our earliest acquaintance with Great Britain, we are indebted to the enterprising, or, rather, the ambitious spirit, of Julius Cæsar, a Roman general, who had conquered Gaul, and, seeing from the coast of Morini the white cliffs of Albion, aspired to conquer that country also, and add it to the dominions of Rome. At first he endeavoured to learn its situation and its advantages, from the Gallic mariners: but failing to obtain this information through them, he seized, as a pretext for hostilities, the circumstance of the Britons having given assistance to the Veneti, a people with whom the Romans were at war: accordingly on the 26th of August, fifty-four years before the birth of Christ, he crossed the strait of Calais, with a design to invade the island. When Cæsar with his followers approached sufficiently near the coast to view the inhabitants on the opposite heights, they became somewhat dismayed at their hostile and barbarous appearance; a superstitious fear also overawed the Romans, lest they should offend the gods of this new world; but their alarms vanished on beholding the standard-bearer of the tenth legion leap with his eagle into the sea. His comrades, ashamed of their fears, followed him; and after a short struggle with the natives, the Romans effected a landing in Kent, on the spot where the town of Deal now stands.

Experienced as the Romans were in the art of war, they were totally deficient of nautical science; so that when, on the fourth night after their arrival, they witnessed a great

swell of the waves, owing to a spring tide, Cæsar was alarmed at the consequences that might ensue from a winter's residence, unprovided as the ships were with provisions; and in less than three weeks, he returned with his army to Gaul.

In the following spring, Britain was again visited by the conqueror, who brought with him a fleet of eight hundred ships. The natives alarmed at so formidable an appearance fled to their woods, leaving the enemy to land without opposition, on the same spot where they had landed the preceding year. At that period, the greatest part of Britain was in an uncivilized state. Its population comprised above forty tribes, of which several, while they retained their former appellations, had been deprived of their independence; while others, amid the revolutions of two or three centuries, had risen to a high pre-eminence of power.

By the Roman writers all the inhabitants of the island were termed barbarians; they wore scarcely any clothing, and lived in woods and forests, except the more southerly tribes, who, in consequence of certain Phenician adventurers having discovered the Cassiterides or Tin-Islands, now known by the name of the Scilly Isles, trafficked with them, and received in return for their ore, salt, earthenware, and brass. These researches by foreigners, excited industry in the natives; and the inhabitants on that part of the coast approached nearest in their habits to civilization, having profited by the example of their southern neighbours. Their dress was of their own manufacture, and they had a knowledge of agriculture-advantages which they gained from their Gallic neighbours; whilst the midland and western tribes remained in ignorance, and those on the wilds of Caledonia were mere savages, who claimed the praise of superior courage and superior ferocity. They were all idolaters, and besides worshipping supposititious gods, they professed the highest veneration for the oak, considering the strength and durability of that tree as an appropriate emblem of the divinity. To its trunk was bound the victim destined for slaughter, and of its leaves they formed chaplets: when it chanced to produce

the misletoe, the whole tribe was summoned; the sacred plant was cut with a golden knife, and a religious feast concluded the ceremonies of that day.

Their priests were styled Druids, a set of men who observed the most abstemious habits, and lived in huts secluded from the generality of the people—their principal place of residence was the isle of Anglesey, which, on that account, obtained the name of the sacred land. The Druids excited veneration by the mystery attached to their profession; they were skilled in the art of divination, acquired an insight into the medicinal properties of a few plants, and professed to be the depositaries of knowledge which was beyond the attainment, and above the comprehension, of the vulgar. whole doctrine was a compound of truth and absurdity. To the existing immortality of the human soul, was added the fiction of metempsychosis*; and in order to maintain an absolute power over the minds of the people, they prohibited the teaching of letters, and delivered all their precepts in verse, which their disciples committed to memory. One particular class of this tribe studied the science of music; and every chieftain retained one of these in his service, whose occupation it was to eulogize his patron's bounty and valour, and sing the praises of his country, accompanying his voice with the sounds of his harp.

We read, that on Cæsar's second invasion the British chieftains came down into the woods, near the coast, and there watched every opportunity to annoy his army. They were at first encouraged by the loss of forty vessels, belonging to Cæsar, which were wrecked during the violence of a storm; but having received a check from the disciplined Roman soldiers, many of those chiefs retired to their mountains, having first invited Cassibelan, King of the Cassii, who had gained great renown in his victories over the neighbouring chiefs, to undertake their defence; and it is very possible, as

^{*}By the term metempsychoeis is meant, transmigration, or the supposed passage of the soul or spirit from one body to another; but for a more detailed explanation of this dectrine, the reader is referred to "Dr. Lingard's History of England" (Vol. i. page 24, Second Edition, 8vo.); a work strongly recommended to the attention of all who have the opportunity of consulting so excellent an authority.

he had acquired great skill and judgment, that he might have been victorious in his country's cause, but for the treachery of the natives, many of whom conspired to betray him. He was compelled to sue for peace, and that campaign ended in the Britons consenting to furnish an annual tribute to Rome: and Cæsar again quitted the island, and wintered in Gaul.

During the succeeding ninety-seven years Britain retained its independence; but the Emperor Claudius invaded it in person, A.D. 43, and, at his departure, he divided the command of the Roman legions between Vespasian and the legate Plautius. The latter fought thirty battles before he could subdue the natives of Belgæ and the Isle of Wight; and the former was opposed during five years by Caractacus, who gave the enemy battle on the lofty hill, Caer-Caradoc, which stands at the confluence of the Colne and Teme in Shropshire. Such was the courageous valour of the British on that occasion, that, at the approach of the Romans, they pledged themselves by oath to conquer or die: the Romans, however, mounted the hill, and having driven the Silures from its summit, took the wife and daughters of Caractacus prisoners, His brothers were compelled to surrender, and the king himself was delivered a captive to Ostorius, by his stepmother, Cartismandua.

The Britons were all, by nature, hardy and active; in battle they were ferocious: undisciplined in the regular arts of war, their chieftains fought from chariots, which they could guide, with equal rapidity, on the brink of a precipice, or along the descent of a mountain, as on the level plain. Unappalled by danger, they drove fearlessly along the Roman line, espied every opportunity of breaking the ranks of the enemy, and, during the heat of the action, would run along the pole, leap on the ground, or regain their seats, as the events of the moment seemed to demand.

Caractacus, after braving the power of Rome during nine years, passed through the imperial city to grace the triumph of Claudius; but nothing dismayed the spirit of the British warrior, who expressed his surprise that men, who possessed such riches at home, should have found it worth their while to fight for the wretched hovels of Britain. Caractacus was restored to liberty, but hostilities continued; and after several battles, in which the Romans gained the advantage, by having numbers of regularly-disciplined troops, their skilful general, Suetonius Paulinus, in the following year, resolved on the reduction of the Isle of Anglesey, which hitherto had been the secure retreat of the Druids, to whose influence the Romans attributed the persevering resistance of the Britons.

Whilst Suetonius was engaged in obtaining an easy victory over that sacred people, an insurrection was forming in the Roman camp, where the insults and oppression exercised by the conquerors, towards the British youth, had sown the seeds of disaffection; for Britain had to maintain a numerous army of foreigners, as the natives who carried arms were employed out of the island, lest their swords should be used in regaining their former independence. Every Briton, by birth, was excluded from all offices of trust and authority in his own country, and every holder of such office was prohibited by law from marrying a native, or purchasing property within the island.

At that period Prasutagus, King of the Iceni, died. He had seconded the views of the Roman emperor, and the better to secure his property, had made the emperor joint heir with his own daughters: but Roman avarice not being easily satisfied, the whole succession was immediately seized in the emperor's name; the widow, Boadicea, ventured to remonstrate, for which she was scourged as a slave, and the chastity of her daughters was violated. The history of her wrongs led her countrymen to feel their own, and excited in their breasts a general spirit of revenge, so that they willingly followed her to battle. The fight was long and fiercely maintained, but the Romans were at last victorious, and poor Boadicea ended her misfortunes by a voluntary death *.

From that time until seventy-eight years after the birth of

Dio has described Boadices as a woman of lofty stature, and severe countenance. Her yallow hair reached almost to the ground. She wore a plaited train of various colours, round her waist a chain of gold, and over these a long mantle.—Lingard, i. p. 22.

Christ the Britons were at open warfare with the Roman power, which on various occasions had proved victorious. In that year the splendid victories of the Roman general, Cneius Julius Agricola, completed their subjection to its yoke; but him the Britons styled their benefactor, for he aspired to more noble praise than that of a conqueror-he became their legislator. From that time the Britons left their native forests to associate with the Roman people, whose manners they endeavoured to copy; they built their houses, baths, and temples, after the Roman fashion; they studied their language, and they also adopted their vices; so that insensibly losing their spirit of independence, they became soft and effeminate. But this is to be understood only of those who inhabited the cities; the bulk of the natives were uneasy under the tyrannical yoke of the Roman power.

When Agricola invaded Caledonia, the northern Britons, under the command of their general and countryman Galgaeus, nobly defended the pass to the Grampian mountains. He divided his thirty thousand warriors into clans, and posted them on the declivity of a hill; whilst the plain, at its base, was covered with horsemen and armed chariots. In numbers the Britons maintained the advantage; but as they advanced into close action, their unpointed swords became nearly useless*, and the pressure of the enemy forced them up the hill. Ten thousand Caledonians fell on that eventful day, and the Romans retired victorious into winter quarters.

The history of those times, Dr. Lingard justly observes, "is little more than a record of the miseries inflicted on the many by the passions of a few." The Britons were by nature noble and independent; in manners they were ferocious, because uncivilized; but they were active, vigorous, and, by habit, inured to privations. That they were not victorious, may be attributed to their ignorance of military discipline, the inefficiency of their weapons, and, perhaps, most of all, to a want of union among themselves, as we find them in a constant state of internal warfare.

^{*} They had osier targets, covered with skins, and long heavy swords without points, with which they were used to cut, but not to thrust.—Lingaad, vol. i. Note, v. 43.

The successors of Agricola employed themselves chiefly in settling the details of the provincial government; for when the Roman conquest had reached its utmost extent, the conquered Britons were divided into six provinces, under the government of prætors, which latter exercised a very tyrannical sway over the natives. The Caledonians in particular, who, when invaded by Agricola, were defeated but not subdued, continued to insult the Roman power, so that the state of Britain required the presence of the Emperor Adrian; and he, to confine the northern tribes, drew a ditch and rampart across the island, from the Solway Frith on the western, to the mouth of the Tyne on the eastern coast, a distance of more than sixty miles, which great military work has hitherto defied the ravages of time. Adrian's successor, Antoninus, carried another fortification across the isthmus, from Caerriden on the Forth, to Alchind on the Clyde.

"The vallum may be traced from Burgh, on the sands, to the town of Newcastle, avoiding the mountains, and winding along the valleys. The ditch appears to have been eleven feet in breadth, and nine in depth; the rampart, at the present day, rises in some parts six feet above the original surface. Besides this, two aggeres, or mounds of earth, one on the north, the other on the south, run the whole length in lines parallel to the ditch, at the distance of nearly twenty feet. It is probable that the mound to the south was a military road, and that the original work of Adrian, like that of Antoninus between the Friths, consisted of no more than the ditch, the rampart, and the road. The agger on the north might be afterwards added as a military way for the wall of Severus, when the vallum could be no longer considered as a work of defence."—Lingard, vol. i. p. 86, Note.

During seventy years of tolerable tranquillity enjoyed by the southern nations, on account of their quiet submission, the rest of the empire was convulsed by general feelings of dissatisfaction, and the broils of numerous competitors called the thirty tyrants. Usurpation, too, brought another scourge to the inhabitants, and Britain was in a divided state until the arrival of Constantius from Rome [A.D. 269]: he restored

order, and resumed the imperial authority. Britain became his favourite residence; he exercised a mild and equitable administration, and the people were happy under his jurisdic-

tion, until disturbed by religious persecution.

"It is impossible," says Dr. Lingard, (vol. i. p. 64.) "at this distant period, to say by whom Christianity was first preached in Britain. Some writers have ascribed that province to St. Peter, others have preferred the rival claim to St. Paul; but both opinions, improbable as they are in themselves, rest on the most slender evidence, on testimonies which are many of them irrelevant, all ambiguous and unsatisfactory;" and he continues to give it as his opinion, "that among the natives who visited Rome, some became acquainted with the professors of the Gospel, as the church of Rome had, within a very few years after the ascension of Christ, attained great celebrity." Whilst their continental brethren suffered persecution, the Britons were allowed to practice the new religion without molestation. We have proof that the believers were numerous, and that a regular hierarchy had been instituted before the close of the third century*. But in the beginning of the fourth century, Dioclesian and Maximian resolved to avenge the disasters of the empire on the professors of the Gospel. Though Constantius was favourably disposed towards the Christians, and secretly condemned the persecution, he dared not oppose the edicts, which ordered that whoever refused to worship the pagan gods should suffer death; nor could he prevent the execution of that dreadful mandate, but he was bold in proclaiming his own opinion. Among the number of Christians who suffered with constancy for the faith of Christ, Gildas has preserved the names of Julius and Aaron, citizens of Caerleon upon Usk, and of Alban, the proto-martyr of Britain.

When Constantius was in an inferior station, he had married Helena, a native of Bythnia, whom he was compelled to repudiate on being raised to the dignity of Cæsar, for Theodora, the daughter-in-law of Maximian. By his former

[•] In the Council of Arles, in 314, we meet with the names of three British bishops: Eborius of York, for the province of Maxima; Restitutus of London, for that of Flavia; and Adelphius of Richborough, for that of Britannia Prima,

wife he had a son, born in Britain, who was educated as a noble hostage in the court of Dioclesian, and then of Galerius. On hearing that his father's health was rapidly declining, the prince found means to escape, and reached York a few days before his father expired. He was recommended by the dying Constantius to the affection of the soldiery, and assumed, with their approbation, the titles of Cæsar and Augustus. The long course of victories by which he united the whole empire under his sole authority, obtained for him from posterity the epithet of "Constantine the Great."

Under Constantine and his sons Britain enjoyed fifty years of peace; but the public prosperity received a check in the tyranny of Paulus, a Spanish notary, sent by the Emperor Constantius, to inquire into the conduct of certain officers, during a defection of the western armies, and whose avarice. says Lingard, "was so predominant, that wealth was with him a presumption of guilt, and no man whose possessions might fill the coffers of the notary and his imperial master. was ever acquitted at his tribunal. Martin, the vicar of Britain, had lamented, and sometimes interposed to prevent: these iniquitous proceedings. But he was informed that a deep scheme had been laid to involve him in the common delinquency; and, impelled by despair, he made an attempt on the life of the notary. The stroke was parried, and Martin instantly plunged his sword into his own heart. His real or pretended accomplices were punished with torture and confiscation, exile, or death; and Paulus continued his career. regardless of the hatred and imprecations of the natives. By Constantius he was applauded for his fidelity: Julian, the succeeding emperor, commanded him to be burnt alive."

About the year 360, the Picts and Scots, the former adventurers from Ireland, the latter the northern tribes, united in making incursions, and even broke down the wall which Severus had built to protect the Britons. Since the Roman legions had been withdrawn from the island to defend their continental territories, several ambitious pretenders had assumed the purple: but each had enjoyed for a short time only the power of usurpation; and the native Britons, \$\frac{5}{6}\$

they were continually exposed to the inroads of their enemies, determined to reject an authority which was become too weak to afford them protection: they, therefore, deposed the Roman magistrates, and proclaimed their own independence.

We are informed that, on the extinction of the imperial authority, the provinces were divided among a multitude of petty chieftains, whose ambition, wars, and vices inflicted more extensive injuries than the incursions of foreign enemies. To these miseries succeeded the dreadful scourges of pestilence and famine; district after district became the scene of devastation, till their common danger warned them to seek other assistance, and a Saxon squadron being then cruising in the Channel in quest of adventures, the two commanders, "Hengist and Horsa, eagerly accepted the overtures of the British prince, Vortigern, to aid in fighting his battles, and to depend for their reward on his future gratitude. They landed at Ebbsfleet in 449, and were cantoned in the Isle of Thanet."

Amidst these calamities the Britons found leisure for theological disputes. " Pelagius a Briton, and Celestius a Scot, differed in opinion respecting the nature of original sin and divine grace. The British prelates asked the aid of the bishops of Gaul. By the authority of Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, the doctrine of Pelagius was condemned and suppressed. On one occasion, when the Picts and Saxons were plundering the coast, the Gallic prelate resumed a character in which he was distinguished in his youth: putting himself at the head of the Britons, he led them to a defile, to wait in ambush the approach of the invaders. On a sudden, by his command, they raised a general shout of Hallelujah; the cry was reverberated from the surrounding hills,-the enemy fled in amazement, and numbers perished in an adjoining river. By our ancient writers this action was celebrated under the name of the Hallelujah victory."-LINGARD, vol. i. p. 85.

CHAPTER II.

BRITAIN UNDER THE SAXONS.

THE Saxons were an obscure tribe, who, in the middle of the second century, occupied the district between the Elbe and the Eyder; and in the course of two hundred years they had spread over all the nations from the extremity of the Peninsula to the Weser, the Ems, and the Rhine. Pillage by land, and piracy by sea, were their means of subsistence: in these pursuits they formed a kind of voluntary association, leaving the culture of the land and the care of their flocks to the women; and such was their dauntless spirit that, though the imperial fleet had often checked, it had never been able to subdue them. From their language and their stature it is supposed they were of Gothic descent. From their chieftains they selected a leader in times of emergency, who bore the title of Conyng, or King, but whose authority expired with the occasion. After their settlement in Britain they employed the war-horse, for which they imbibed a sort of veneration. These animals were purposely initiated by slitting up their nostrils, and stitching up their ears, so as to destroy the sense of hearing.

Sidonius, the eloquent bishop of Clermont, has thus described the Saxons: "We have not," he says, "a more cruel and more dangerous enemy than the Saxons. They overcome all who have the courage to oppose them. They surprise all who are so imprudent as not to be prepared for their attack. When they pursue, they infallibly overtake,—when they are pursued, their escape is certain. They despise danger—they are inured to shipwreck—they are eager to purchase booty with the peril of their lives. Tempests, which to others are so dreadful, to them are subjects of joy: the storm is their protection, when they are pressed by the enemy, and a cover for their operations when they meditate an attack. Before they quit their own shores, they devote to the altars of their gods the tenth part of their principal

captives, and when they are on the point of returning, the lots are cast with an affectation of equity, and the impious vow is fulfilled." Such were the habits of the people whom Vortigern invited to fight his battles.

During six years the Saxons served him faithfully. At that time, whether from motives of interest for himself or his employer is uncertain, Hengist obtained permission to draw reinforcements from his country, and the arrival of chieftains followed each other, until their number excited the jealousy of the natives, and produced a war. [A. D. 455.]

The Saxons were not, however, finally established, until the battle of Charford, on the Avon, confirmed their authority in Britain*. The Saxon policy then changed its object from plunder to colonization; and there was no part of the eastern shore, from the frith of Forth to the mouth of the Thames, which was not visited by hordes of those burba-In 530, we read that Erkenwin was settled in Essex, as king of the East Saxons; and the other chieftains having failed to take advantage from the experience of their predecessors, were vanquished in detail. The Saxon invasion was most injurious in its consequences, because it replunged the natives into a state of barbarism; vet did they meet with opposition from many valiant men, as Aurelius Ambrosius, of Roman origin, the son of parents that had worn the purple, and a brave, faithful, and unassuming warrior; and several others, among whom Arthur eclipsed all his contemporaries, if we may credit only a part of the fame which fiction has given to his prowess. His eulogists have left us in ignorance of the period when he lived, and of the district over which he reigned; though they tell us he was victorious in twelve battles, in most of which, from the names of the places, it appears he was opposed to the Angles in Lincolnshire, and to the Saxons under Cerdic or Henric. However, " when the reader has been told that Arthur was a British chieftain, that he fought many battles, that he was

^{*} Dr. Lingard treats the tale told by some British writers, who attribute the loss of Kent to the infatuation of Vortigern for the daughter of Hengist, as a fable, invented by the natives, in order to account for the settlement of the Saxons otherwise than by conquest; in which opinion the late historian Hume also coincides.

murdered by his nephew, and was buried at Glastonbury, where his remains were discovered in the reign of Henry II., he will have learned all that can be ascertained respecting that celebrated warrior."—Lingard, vol. i. p. 103. When opposition proved fruitless, many of the natives escaped the sword of their enemies by flight to their hills and forests, and there lost, in struggling poverty, the faint polish of civilization they had received; whilst others, under the protection of their prelates and chieftains, abandoned their native country altogether, and crossing the ocean, seized the desolate lands on the western extremity of Armorica, " and gave to the tract they subdued, the appellation of their parent country. It is still known by the name of Bretagne."

At length policy caused the lives of the Britons to be spared, in order to render them useful to their conquerors: these were, accordingly, apportioned with the land, and became the property and chattels of their lord, subject to his caprice and transferable at his will. This state of slavery continued (from the authentic record of Doomsday) until the eleventh century, when an Octarchy, of eight independent kingdoms, was established in the island*. Among those was one whose sovereign authority was pretty generally acknowledged under the title of Bretwalda, the wielder or sovereign of Britain. Of these, Alla was the first, who, in 480, founded the kingdom of Sussex, which was the smallest of the principalities. The second Bretwalda was Ceawlin, during whose reign Ethelbert, king of Kent, having been persuaded that the dignity of Bretwalda belonged to him, as the representative of Hengist, gave Ceawlin battle at Wimbledon, but was defeated. Ceawlin, after adding by numerous victories to the Saxon power, was himself deserted by his rebellious subjects, in 591, and his nephew Ceolric succeededs The title of Bretwalda, however, at the death of Ceawlin was conferred on Ethelbert, to whose authority all the Saxon princes, south of the Humber, submitted.

In 596, forty strangers arrived in the Isle of Thanet;

Former historians have called them only seven, from the frequent union of Bernicia
 and Deira under one and the same head.

these Ethelbert received under an oak; they were Augustine and his associates, whom Pope Gregory the Great had sent for the benevolent purpose of converting the Pagans. At that interview a silver cross was carried before Augustine, and a banner, bearing the representation of the Redeemer; his companions followed in procession singing anthems. Ethelbert promised the missionaries his protection, and they proceeded towards Canterbury, chanting the following prayer:—"By thy great mercy, O Lord, turn away, we be seech thee, thy anger from this city and thy holy temple, for we are sinners. Hallelujah."

Ethelbert was not ignorant of the christian religion. It was probably the belief of the majority of the British slaves in his dominions: his queen Bertha professed it*.

The strangers were lodged with the christian prelate, who accompanied the queen from Gaul, in the ancient church of St. Martin, at Canterbury. Ethelbert viewed with secret pleasure the alteration in the sentiments of his subjects effected by the true spirit of piety; and he became himself a christian, receiving baptism on the feast of Pentecost, in the year 597, which example was followed by ten thousand of his subjects on the following Christmas. The royal proselyte seconded the efforts of the missionaries, by distinguishing the converts with marks of his favour. By his munificence. the church of St. Saviour was repaired for the residence of the missionaries. Augustine conferred the episcopal dignity on his disciple Justus, for whom the piety of Ethelbert erected the church of St. Andrew, at Rochester. He also introduced the missionary Mellitus to his nephew, Saberet, who governed Essex, and who received the sacrament of baptism. Mellitus was afterwards made bishop of London, the cathedral there having been built at the joint expense of Ethelbert and his nephew, for his residence.

After the conversion of the Saxons, the zeal of Augustine was directed to the reformation of the Britons, who during a hundred and fifty years of warfare had lost the ancient disci-

^{*} Bertha was the only daughter of Charibert, king of Paris-a descendant of Clovis, the conqueror of Gaul.

pline of the church, and their priests had exhibited vices the most repugnant to their profession.

The prelates were induced to assemble under an oak in Worcestershire, for the purpose of listening to the admonitions of Augustine; but after a long debate they adjourned the meeting to a future day. In the interval, the Britons consulted a neighbouring hermit, who advised them to watch the behaviour of Augustine. If he rose to meet them, they were to consider him a man of unassuming disposition, and to listen to his demands: but if he kept his seat, they should condemn him of pride, and reject his authority. With this admonition, seven bishops, with Dinoth, abbot of Bangor, at their head, repaired to the place of conference. Augustine was seated, and did not rise at their entrance; the three points which he required, namely, to observe the catholic computation of Easter, to adopt the Roman rite in baptism, and to join the missionaries in preaching to the Saxons, were refused, and his authority despised; upon which, Augustine exclaimed, " If you will not assist me in pointing out to the Saxons the way of life, they, by the just judgment of God, will prove to you the ministers of death." He did not live to see the prediction verified. Bede supposed it to be fulfilled at the victory of Edilfrid, when the monks of Bangor were slain on the summit of a hill*. Previous to Ethelbert's death, he published a code of laws, which had for its foundation the principle of pecuniary compensation.

The right of succession came to Eadwald in 616, but he having taken his stepmother to his bed, the people refused their submission to him, and Redwald became the fourth Bretwalda. Edwin was the fifth of the Saxon kings: he was the son of Ælla, and from three years old had been intrusted to the care of Cadvan, king of North Wales, because Edilfred his sister's husband, had usurped his dominions. The jealousy of Edilfred harassed Edwin, and forced him to wander

The reader is anxionaly referred to Dr. Lingard's forty-second note, vol. i., in which he has thrown greatlight on the state of religion at that period, and refutes the opinions of those modern historians, who have represented the Britons as then holding different dectrines from those professed by the Roman missionaries.

an exile, until he found a refuge in the court of Redwald. Edwin was unfixed in his religious principles. Having one day called his councillors, and spoken to them respecting religion, he desired them to give free utterance to their opinions. Coiffi, the high priest, advised him to adopt the christian religion, giving, as his reason, that though he had served the gods assiduously, he had not been fortunate; he was therefore weary of deities who were so ungrateful and indifferent, and would willingly try his fortune under the new religion." A Thane next offered the following: " Often," said he, "O king, in the depth of winter, while you are feasting with your Thanes, and the fire is blazing on the hearth in the midst of the hall, you have seen a bird, pelted by the storm, enter at one door, and escape at the other. During its passage it was visible; but whence it came, or whither it went, you knew not. Such to me appears the life of man. He walks the earth for a few years, but what precedes his birth, or what is to follow after his death, we cannot tell. Undoubtedly, if the new religion can unfold these important secrets, it must be worthy our attention."-LINGARD, vol. i. p. 123.

The empire of Edwin was more extensive than that of any preceding Bretwalda. The islands of Anglesey and Man were subject to his authority; all the princes of the Britons paid him tribute, and his inflexible administration of justice was long preserved to posterity by a proverb, the truth of which is attested by Bede:—" That, in the days of Edwin, a woman with a babe at her breast might have travelled over the island without suffering an insult."

Edwin was killed at the battle of Hatfield, between the Don and the Torre, in 633, and was succeeded by Oswald, as the sixth Bretwalda. On the accession of this prince he resolved to revenge the deaths of his two relatives, Osric and Eanfrid. Having proved victorious at the battle of Hexham, in which Caedwalla was slain, his piety attributed the victory to God; and induced him to ask of his teachers, missionaries to instruct the Northumbrians. The first who was

sent for that purpose was Corman, a monk; a man, as Lingard informs us, of rigid manners, and morose disposition, who soon returned in disgust to his monastery, and there accused the Northumbrians of ignorance and barbarism: upon which Aidan, one of the same community, said-. " Brother, the fault was your's. You exacted from the pagans more than their weakness could bear. You should have first stooped to them, and gradually have raised their minds to the sublime truths of the gospel." The speaker was unanimously chosen as the successor to Corman, and he proceeded to the court of Oswald, who himself condescended to explain in English the instructions which the bishop delivered in his native language. Under that good man Christianity became predominant in Northumbria. king gave to Aidan the Isle of Lindisfarne (Holy Land), in which was built a monastery. The bishop's contempt of riches, his charity to the poor, and his attachment to the duties of his holy profession, gained the hearts, whilst his arguments convinced the minds of his hearers. Oswald was killed by Penda when engaged against the Mercians, and as he fell, pronounced this pious exclamation,—" Lord, have mercy on the souls of my people!" He was succeeded by Oswin in 642, as the seventh Bretwalda: his was a long reign of twenty-eight years, a part of which time he was much disturbed by a rival competitor in Oswio, the son of Osric, to whom he allotted Deira as his portion, and for six years the two princes reigned with apparent harmony: but at length the animosity which they had secretly cherished then broke out into open hostilities, and Oswin became a victim to the policy of Oswio. His death was deeply regretted, as his conduct had endeared him to his subjects; and so great was the bishop Aidan's attachment to his virtues, that he only survived his friend twelve days.

The death of Oswin did not leave Oswio sole sovereign, as he had to defend Northumbria from the enmity of Penda, whose influence placed another rival on the throne of the Deiri: but experience had made Oswio prudent, and had found means to soften his enemy's resentment; so '

the remainder of his reign he enjoyed a greater extent of power than any of his predecessors. The princes of the Britons and the Saxons submitted to his authority, and the Picts and Scots were careful to pay to him their annual vibute. The title and authority of Bretwalda ceased at the death of Oswio. The yellow plague appeared in 664, and for twenty years visited and revisited the provinces of England and Ireland, Caledonia remaining alone free from the dreadful disease.

CHAPTER III.

BRITAIN UNDER THE KINGS OF NORTHUMBRIA, MERCIA, AND WESSEX.

We now come to a race of Northumbrian kings who, in their rapid succession, presented a continued scene of perfidy, treason, and murder. Within the lapse of one hundred years fourteen kings assumed the sceptre, of whom seven were slain; six were driven from the throne by their rebellious subjects; and one only died in the possession of royalty: and, finally, the Danes extinguished the Northumbrian dynasty, by the slaughter of Ella and Osbriht, in the year 867.

"During that period two Northumbrian scholars, Bede and Alcuin, became the benefactors of their age and country. To their exertions Europe was principally indebted for the portion of learning which she possessed from the eighth to the eleventh century. Bede was a native of Sunderland, who spent sixty-two years in his own improvement, or the improvement of others, with the monks of Jarrow, on the banks of the Tyne, and died there in 733, leaving to posterity An Ecclesiastical History of the Nation of the Angles; a work of great erudition. Alcuin was of York; he lived some time in the court of the emperor Charlemagne, and retired in his old age to Tours, where he continued his favourite occupation of teaching, and indulged in maintaining an inte-

resting correspondence with the most celebrated characters of the age, till his death, in the commencement of the ninth century *."—LINGARD, vol. i. p. 163.

Of the kings who swayed the Mercian sceptre, Ethelbald was the most powerful. From the Humber to the Southern Channel he compelled every tribe to obey his authority. In the south, the Kings of Wessex vainly struggled with his power, until Cuthred, in 752, boldly opposed the Mercians in the field of Burford, in Oxfordshire. An ancient poet has described the shock of the two armies on that occasion: the shouts and efforts of the combatants, their murderous weapons, the spear, the long sword, and the battle-axe; and their prodigality of life, in the defence of their respective standards. Edilthim, who bore the golden dragon, the banner of Wessex, slew with his own hand the standard-bearer of Ethelbald, in the open space between the two armies. But when chance conducted Ethelbald to the advance of Edilhim, the Mercian king shrunk before the gigantic stature and bloody brand of his adversary, and gave to his followers the example of a precipitate flight. Ethelbald did not long survive his disgrace—he was killed in battle, or by his own guards, on the following night. In his conduct Ethelbald presented a compound of vice and virtue: he was liberal to the poor and to his dependants; he watched with solicitude over the administration of justice, and he severely repressed the hereditary feuds which divided the Mercian thanes, and impaired the strength of the nation: but, in his own favour, he never scrupled to invade the rights of his subjects; and he gave unbounded indulgence to his pleasures: however, for some time previous to his death, he forsook the follies and vices of his youth.

To him succeeded Offa, about the year 758, whose in-

^{*} The Anglo-Saxon converts were indebted for the little learning they acquired to their missionaries; and hence, for some time, those in the north repaired for instruction, principally, to Ireland; those in the south to the Roman teachers at Canterbury. This produced a kind of literary rivalship between the two islands, of which an amusing account is given by Adhelon, who had studied first under Irish, and then under Roman masters. In his letter to Endfrid, who had just returned from Ireland, he gives due praise to the learning of the Irish scholars; but then he observes that England, too, has its share; that Theodore and Adrian shine like the sun and moon at Canterbury, sad that the former is surrounded with scholars, even from Ireland.—LINGARD, vol. 1, p. 164, Note.

trigues proved a scourge to the Mercians, though his victories, and his friendship with Charlemagne, had made the most powerful of the Saxon princes ambitious of his alliance The kings of Wessex and Northumbria had married his daughters, Eadburga and Elfleda; and Ethelbert, the young king of the East Angles, was a suitor for the hand of their sister, Etheldrida: for this purpose that amiable and accomplished prince made a visit to the court of Offa, who caused him to be treacherously murdered, and thus annexed East Anglia to his own dominions. About the same time he endowed the abbey of St. Albans. Within two years after that transaction he sunk into the grave, enfeebled by disease, and was buried near Bedford, on the banks of the Ouse, where tradition of that neighbourhood says, that a few years afterwards his bones were carried away by an inundation, caused by the overflow of the river. His son and successor, Egferth. possessed the crown only one hundred and forty-one days, and died without issue. Elfleda became a widow soon after her marriage. Eadburga, who was as ambitious and unprincipled as her father, by her imperious temper governed her husband Brithtric, and through him the whole nation, until jealous of the influence of the ealderman Worr she prepared a poisonous draught for him, of which the king also drank, and accompanied his favourite to the grave. The murderess escaped with her treasures to France, when Charlemagne made her a present of a monastery, from which she was expelled with ignoming for the dissoluteness of her conduct. She closed her miserable existence at Pavia, in Italy, where she was often seen in rags, soliciting the charity of passengers; and Edilthrida finished her days in the monastery of Croyland. Thus the race of Offa disappeared for ever.

About the year 674, the government of Wessex assumed the form of an aristocracy. The most powerful of the thanes associated for their mutual defence, and, in the emergencies of foreign war, conferred on one of their number the title of king.

Among several princes of the family of Cerdic was Caadwalla, of the house of Ceawlin, whose courage distinguished him above his equals, and gained him the sovereignty of Wessex in 685. He conquered the Isle of Wight, and remnited it to Wessex, from which it had been severed by Walphere. In that enterprise he vowed, in the event of victory, to give a fourth of the conquest to the service of religion. In the execution of his vow he gave to Wilfred, bishop of York, three hundred hides of land. It was probably owing to Cæadwalla's acquaintance with this prelate, that led him to visit the most celebrated churches, and to become a Christian: he received baptism from the hands of pope Sergius, at Rome, where he died a few days after, in the thirtieth year of his age, and was interred in the church of St. Peter, in 688.

To him succeeded Ina, who was equal as a warrior, and superior as a legislator, to any of his predecessors. churchmen styled him their friend and benefactor. founded the abbey of Glastonbury, and all the celebrated monasteries within his kingdom experienced his royal bounty. After a reign of thirty-seven years, the peace of Ina was disturbed by rebellion, but religion offered to his old age a safe retreat. In the Witenagemot he resigned his crown, and in a few weeks after set out, with his consort Ethelburga, to Rome, where, in the garb of a poor and unknown pilgrim. he performed his penitential devotions, and died within the year. When Ina resigned his crown, he recommended Æthelheard the brother of his queen, and Oswald, of the house of Ceawlin, as his successors; but they became rivals, their domestic quarrel emboldened their enemies, and, in accordance with the former account of the battle of Burford, the independence of Wessex was secured in 752.

Brihtric, the victorious conqueror at Burford, was succeeded by Egbert, who, by his victories and his successful policy, obtained the name of the Eighth Bretwalda. He devoted the first years of his reign to the cultivation of peace, and the improvement of his people. It was not till 809 that he unsheathed the sword; but, from that period, each succeeding year was marked with conquest, so that in the course of nineteen years the authority of Wessex extended over the greater part of the island. But scarcely had Egbert acquired

this extension of power over the native princes, when he himself assailed by a foreign and dangerous enemy. T were the Danes, a hardy race from the shores of the Ba who despised the tranquil enjoyments of peace, and prefethe acquisitions of rapine. Their maritime situation cured for their chieftains the title of sea-kings. Till eighth century, this people confined their depredations to northern seas, but the report of wealth in the south incitem to more important expeditions.

During the eighth century, this race of pirates made if attempts to land in Britain, which created no serious ca of alarm; but in 832, they effected their purpose in the of Sheppey, and three years after appeared on the coas Cornwall, where they succeeded in seducing the Britons their allegiance. The king gave them battle at Hengsto hill, where he commanded in person, and obtained a decis victory. In the following year Egbert died, after a long glorious, and a fortunate reign.

In 855, the tranquillity England enjoyed, encours Ethelwulf to undertake a journey to Rome, in which he accompanied by his youngest son Alfred, who had be visited that capital with Swithin, bishop of Winchester. though at that time the young prince was only in his fifth y the pontiff, Leo IV., at the request of his father, conferred thim the regal unction, and the sacrament of confirmation

During Ethelwulf's stay in Rome, he rebuilt the Sa hospital in that city, which had been burnt down, and tained an ordinance that no Englishman should be condem to do penance in irons out of his own country. For pacide, and other enormous crimes, the bishops were act tomed up to that time to condemn penitents to wear irons a certain number of years, and on some occasions sent the Rome to be absolved by the pope.

Such were the ambitious views of Ethelbald, the eldest of Ethelwulf, that, at his father's return, a civil war we have been the consequence, had not Ethelwulf consented a division of his kingdom with him. The monarch survi this compromise only two years. He bequeathed by will

kingdom of Kent to his second son Ethelbert, the kingdom of Wessex to Ethelbeld, Ethelred, and Alfred, in the order of seniority, and divided his private patrimony among his children, charged with maintaining one poor person on every ten hides * of land, and also the yearly payment of three hundred mancuses † to the pope.

The first act of Ethelbald was to wed his mother-in-law. whom his father had married at the court of France, on his return from Rome. This princess was Judith, a daughter of the French king. This incestuous connexion so displeased Ethelbald's subjects, that he was induced, by the remonstrances of the Bishop of Winchester, to consent to a separation. Judith, unwilling to remain in a country which had witnessed her disgrace, sold her lands, the dower she had received from Ethelwulf, and returned to the court of her father. Charles, who dared not trust the discretion of his daughter, ordered her to be confined within the walls of Senlis, but to be treated at the same time with the respect due to a queen. The cunning of Judith was, however, more than a match for the vigilance of her guards. She eloped, in disguise, with Baldwin, Great Forester of France; and the fugitives were soon beyond the reach of royal resentment. The king prevailed on his bishops to excommunicate Baldwin, for having forcibly carried off a widow; but the Pope disapproved of the sentence, and, at his intreaty, Charles gave a reluctant consent to their marriage, though neither he, nor archbishop Hincmar, could be induced to assist at the ceremony. They lived in great magnificence in Flanders, the earldom of which was bestowed on them by the king. and from their union descended Matilda, the wife of William the Conqueror.

During the reign of Ethelbert, one of the kings of Wessex, Radnor Lodbrog, a famed sea-king, attempted the invasion of England, and was slain by the hand of Ælla, a Northumbrian. The sons of Lodbrog arrived from Denmark, with their relatives and friends, to avenge the death of their father

[•] Gervase of Tilbury computes a hide of land to have contained one hundred acres.

[] † A mancuse was of equal value with our present half crown.

The number of this formidable armament amounted to twenty thousand. Ethelred had only ascended the throne of Wessex a few months when the barbarians, under the command of Inguar and Ubba, the sons of Radnor, landed in East Anglia. Devastation and murder every where followed the steps of the victorious Danes; they burnt the rich monasteries of Bardeney and Croyland, and then proceeded to destroy Medeshamstede, at which place Ubba slaughtered, with his own hand, the abbot and eighty-four monks. The Saxon princes saw the progress of the Danish arms without making any effectual efforts to restrain their rapacity: but Ethelred, with his brother Alfred, gave the enemy battle near Reading; a solitary thorn-tree marked the spot where the Danes were that time defeated.

Another desperate engagement took place at Morton, in Berkshire, where it is believed the Danes remained in possession of the field. Ethelred, who had been wounded, survived only a few days, and was buried at Wimborne. The invaders returned to Reading, to divide the spoil, and to rejoice over their victory.

CHAPTER IV.

ALFRED THE GREAT.

ALFRED, of whom so many wonderful things are narrated, acquired the epithet of "Great" on account of his meritorious exertions for his country. He was, as Lingard observes, "not only a warrior, but a patron of the arts, and the legislator of his people."

He was born at Wantage, in the year 849, and was the fourth son of Ethelwulf and his Queen Osburga. To his mother Alfred owed his early fondness for literature; for holding, one day, in her hand a Saxon poem, elegantly written, and beautifully illuminated, she called her four sons around her, and told them she would give that as a reward to the one who should first be able to read it. Alfred in-

ormed his master of the promise, and applied with so much biligence, that notwithstanding his being the youngest, he received it as the reward of his application. The loss of his arents when he was only a youth, left the progress of his aducation to his brothers, who were little qualified to be his instructors; their own knowledge of literature being limited to the art of reading. He continued, however, to peruse the Saxon poems, and such books of devotion as he could procure. At twenty, Alfred married, but the festivities of that event were interrupted by his being suddenly seized with a painful disorder, the seat of which was internal, and baffled the science and skill of the Saxon physicians; and it continued, with the exception of short intervals of ease, to afflict the prince from that period to the time of his death.

When the unanimous voice of the West Saxons called Alfred to the throne, in 871, he, with real or affected modesty, refused; alleging his own incapacity, and the increasand number of the Danes. But these objections being overruled, the Archbishop of Canterbury fixed the crown upon his head; and from this ceremony he proceeded to the field, where, at the head of his subjects, he contended with the Danes; but finding the only way to escape destruction was to purchase peace, he induced them by a valuable present to quit his territory. Burrhed, the King of Mercia, taught by Alfred's example, hoped to purchase their absence in the same way; but the Danes grew insolent in return for the Mercian's presents; they treated him with derision, and without pretext or provocation, they surprised the monastery of Repton, which had been the pride of Mercian piety, and burnt it to the ground. Burrhed, driven to despair by the perfidy of the Danes, abandoned his throne, went a reluctant pilgrim to Rome, where he arrived with a broken heart, and dying a few days after, was buried in the church of the Saxon hospital.

The devastation of the Danish pillagers spread throughout Britain; the bishop and monks of Lindesfarne fled with their treasures, and the body of St. Cuthbert, to the highest Nor-

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thumbrian mountains; the nuns of Coldingham disfigured their faces to avoid the insults of the barbarians, and thus preserved their chastity, though they perished in the flames.

The country groaned under the ravages inflicted by the Danes, who violated the most solemn oaths, and were mall occasions as perfidious as they were bloodthirsty, und Alfred, roused at their repeated depredations, manned a flee, with which he resolved to encounter them on their own element, the sea. A reverse of fortune was the result of that enterprise. History relates that Alfred, in 878, was mexile from the throne, and lurking in the morasses of Somersetshire, where he found a secure retreat in a small island, afterwards distinguished by the name of Ethelingey, or Prince's Island.

The sudden retreat of Alfred, and the temporary extinction of the West Saxon power, were owing to the policy of Gothrun, a northern chieftain, who possessed all the skill of a wise general,—formed his plans with judgment, and executed them with secrecy. For the mode of his success, Dr. Lingard prefers the authority of the text* to the hypothesis of different historians; for his further elucidation of this subject, I earnestly recommend to the reader a perusal of page 245, vol. i. second edition, of his History of England. Ignorant of the fate of their monarch, the men of Wessex saw themselves compelled to mitigate by submission the ferocity of their rulers, whilst many of the families nearest the coast crossed with their treasures into Gaul.

By degrees the secret of the royal retreat was revealed, Alfred was joined by the more trusty of his subjects, whose numbers daily augmented; and frequent skirmishes occurred, in which the Danes were defeated. Meanwhile, the king watched the reviving spirit of his people, and by trusty messengers invited them to meet him, in the seventh week after Easter,

^{* &}quot;DCCCLXXVIII. This year, in mid winter, over twelfth-night, the Danish army stole to Chippenham and rode over the West Saxon land; and settled in it. And much of the people they drove over sea, and of the rest the greater part they rode round, and subjected to themselves, except the king Alfred, and he, with a little band, went uneasily to the woods and fastnesses of the moors."—Chron. Sax. 84.

at the stone of Egbert, in the eastern extremity of Selwood forest *.

On the appointed day, the men of Hampshire, Wiltshire, and Somersetshire, obeyed the summons. Seeing Alfred. they hailed him the avenger of their country; the woods reechoed their acclamations, and every heart beat with the confidence of victory. A great battle was fought near Ethandune t. where the Danes displayed a courage worthy their former renown; the Saxons, stimulated by every motive that could influence the heart of man, with Alfred at their head. obtained so complete a victory, that the North-men were forced to vield to the terms proposed by the conqueror,—that the king and chieftain should embrace Christianity. A few weeks after, Gothrun, with thirty of his officers, was baptized at Aubre near Athelney, Gothrun taking the surname of Athelstan: Alfred was his sponsor. The two heroes then formed mutual plans for the civilization of Danes and Saxons. and Alfred employed the interim of peace to re-organize the general system of government throughout every department. For, though the Danes were ruled by their own princes, the whole submitted to the authority of Alfred, who produced concord by the equal administration of justice; and fixed the fine for the murder of a Dane to be the same as for the murder of an Englishman.

The most ancient authorities make mention that Alfred, in the commencement of his reign, was subject to great violence of temper; that he conducted himself haughtily towards his subjects, and found leisure, amidst his struggles with 'the Danes, to indulge the impetuosity of his passions; insomuch, that he provoked the censure of his kinsman St. Neot. At that period, it is said that he neglected the exercise of justice, and treated the complaints of the indigent with contempt; for all which we find him to have made ample

[•] It is now called Brixton (Ingulf, p. 26.) "Some later writers," says Lingard, vol. i. p. 269. "inform us that the king disguised himself as a harper, and visited the Danish examp, where he observed their negligence, and learned their ulterior objects. The Story is in itself improbable, and was unknown to Asser."

[†] It is believed to be Leigh, not far from Westbury.

compensation during the last fifteen years of his reign. After his victory over the Danes, about the year 780, his whole mind became occupied with the welfare of his people. Every appeal was heard by him with patient attention; neither birth, friends, nor power, could save a corrupt judge from the punishment that justice awarded. He invited distinguished scholars to his court, and encouraged knowledge wherever he found it. He translated such works himself into the Saxon language, as he thought would most tend to improve his subjects. Alfred, Lingard tells us, frequently lamented that Saxon literature contained no books of science "I have often wondered," said the king, "that the illustrious scholars, who once flourished among the English, and who had read so many foreign works, never thought of transferring the most useful into their own language." And he established public schools, where he wished the sons of freemen to acquire the arts of reading and writing. One third of his time* Alfred gave to sleep and necessary refreshments; the remainder he divided between the duties of government, and works of piety and charity. The revenue he also separated into two parts: one half he apportioned in rewards to his ministers and servants, in presents to different persons, and in paying workmen, of whom he employed great numbers in erecting public buildings in various parts of his dominions, for he rebuilt London, and other towns, which had been destroyed by the Danes; with the other half, he supported his schools, founded two monasteries, one at Shaftesbury for nuns, at the head of which he placed his daughter Ethelgiva, another at Ethelingey for monks; and relieved the necessities of the indigent, to whom he was a bountiful

^{1.6 &}quot;Without the knowledge of chronometers, Alfred was perplexed to discover the true hour of the day. To remedy the inconvenience, he had recourse to the following simple expedient. By repeated experiments he found that a quantity of wax, weighing seventy-two pennies, might be made into six candles, each twelve inches long and of equal thickness, and that these, burning in succession, would last exactly twenty-four hours. To prevent the flame from being affected by currents of air, the candles were inclosed in a large lantern of transparent horn; and as the combustion of each inch of wax corresponded with the lapse of one seventy-second part of the day, or twenty of our minutes, he was hence enabled to measure his time with some accuracy,"—Vol. i. page 260. Note.

benefactor, as well as to the Christian churches throughout Wales, Northumbria, Armorica, and Gaul, and those in his own territory.

Seeing the necessity of a military force which should be ready to take the field at the first alarm, and to march to any point of the coast that might be menaced with attack. this wise prince maintained tranquillity by establishing a regular militia for the interior defence of the kingdom. He also established a naval armament, and built castles on such parts of the coast as were most likely to prevent the landing of an enemy: fifty of which castles he saw completed in his reign. After a long period of peace and prosperity, Alfred viewed a storm approaching from the coast of Gaul, where Hastings, the most successful of the sea-kings, after forty years spent in carnage and plunder, attempted to invade Britain on the spot now called Romney Marsh. Alfred, aware of his design, acted on the defensive; and after a few years annoyance he forced Hastings to quit Britain-but the Danes did not cease their violent, yet fruitless, attempts during the life of Alfred, who died in the year 900 or 901, and left two sons, Edward, who succeeded him, and Ethelward who died in 922, and three daughters, Ethelflæda, married to Ethered of Mercia, Ethelgiva a nun, and Alfritha, wedded to Baldwin, count of Flanders.

In the disposal of his property, Alfred did not follow the example of his predecessor, Egbert, who entailed his estates on his male descendants; "to the spear-side and not to the spindle-side." He divided his lands among his two sons, his three daughters, his two nephews, his cousin Osferth, and his wife Alswitha. He also left sums of money to each of the above named persons, and to his ealdormen, to his servants, and his bishops; fifty mancuses of gold to fifty priests, fifty to the poor ministers of God, fifty to the poor people in distress, and fifty to the church in which he should be buried. At the close of his will he strictly forbade his heirs to invade the liberty of those men whom he had made free *. "For

God's love, and the advantage of my soul, I will that they be masters of their own freedom, and of their own will; and in the name of the living God I entreat that no man disturb them by exaction of money or in any other manner; but that they be left at liberty to serve any lord whom they may choose." Dr. Lingard remarks, "that Alfred's will deserves notice for the information it contains respecting the transmission of property among the Saxons." Alfred, having, by the death of his brother Ethered, come into the possession of certain lands originally bequeathed by their father, and of the personal property of his brother, by survivorship, assembled the Thanes of Wessex at Langdon, to know their opinion as regarded the disposal of his wealth. " I praved them," said Alfred, " for my love (and gave them security that I would never bear them ill will for speaking justly) not to be prevented by fear or love from deciding right, lest any man should say that I had defrauded my kinsfolks." The Thanes approved his title to the property. " It is all." said they, " delivered there into thy hands. Therefore thou mayest bequeath and give it either to a relation or a stranger, as thou thinkest best." (LINGARD, vol. i. page 271.) The next day the king in their presence revoked all his former wills, and made the one as above.

At the death of Alfred, his nephew Ethelwold, the son of Alfred's elder brother, made his claim to the crown. The matter was referred to the Witena-gemot which assembly decided in favour of Edward, but his discontented rival, still intent upon obtaining his ambitious wish, contrived to call around him a numerous army of adventurers, and gave rise to a civil war, in which he lost his life.

From the period of Ethelwold's death, Edward pursued two objects: the subjugation of the Northumbrian and East Anglian Danes, and the union of Mercia with his own dominions. His sister Ethelflæda, at the death of her husband, had governed Mercia, and now acted in concert with her brother; she was equally valiant and warlike, and the whole country submitted to their conquering powers. Edward's reign was short, but it was victorious in repelling the attacks

of the Danes, who were all obliged to acknowledge him as their "lord and protector." He died in 924 at Farringdon, and was buried at Winchester, in the church which he had erected for Grimbald, who at the death of Alfred had asked permission to retire and end his days with the clergy of St. Omer, but Edward, who had conceived a great esteem for Grimbald, prevailed with him to remain in England. The king purchased three acres of land, on which he erected the minster, and gave it, with other lands, to the aged priest. The death of Edward was soon followed by that of his cldest son Ethelwald. Of Edward's numerous family, his three sons, Athelstan, Edmund, and Edred, successively ascended the throne. Six of his daughters married foreign princes, and three others embraced a religious life; of the latter, the youngest, Eadburga, having, at three years old, been led by her father into a room in which was placed a number of trinkets, and a chalice, with the book of the gospels, she ran towards the latter; upon which Edward, interpreting her choice to be the inspiration of heaven, exclaimed, as he embraced her, "Thou shalt be gratified in thy wishes; nor will thy parents regret if they yield to thee in virtue." She spent a long course of years, eminent among the nuns of Winchester, for her humility and devotion. In literary knowledge Edward was inferior to his father, but he surpassed him in the durability of his conquests, which extended over all the Danes of Merica and East Anglia: and so secure and well chosen were the fortifications erected in his reign, that not one of them was ever captured by the enemy. By will he left the crown to his eldest son.

ATHELSTAN.

This prince reaped the advantage of having been, in part, educated under the eye of his aunt Ethelflæda, as it insured him the favour of the Mercians. He was crowned at Kingston, by Athelm, archbishop of Canterbury. Lingard regards the tale of his mother having been the daughter of a neatherd, told by Malmsbury, to be unworthy of credit; as well as the

remarks made by the same historian respecting the manne of Edwin's death, of which Lingard prefers the account give by Huntingdon, who says, "The king had the misfortune to lose, in the waves of the ocean, his brother Edwin, a youth of great vigour and good disposition." Athelstan narrown escaped becoming the victim of a dangerous conspiners planned by his rival the Etheling Alfred, who, upon his scheme of seizing the king's person at Winchester being discovered, claimed, after the manner of the Saxon law, the privilege of clearing himself by oath. Messengers accompanied Alfred to Rome, that he might perform the ceremony in the presence of the pontiff. He swore to his innocence on the altar of St. Peter, but as he died within three days after, the Witan pronounced him guilty, and gave his estates to the king, who bestowed them on the monastery of Malmsbury. All the counties which had been originally conquered and colonised by the several Saxon tribes, united under the authority of this monarch, so that he obtained the title of "King of England." As Athelstan's power became predominant in Britain, his influence increased upon the continent; his alliance was sought by foreign courts, and his subjects enjoyed a state of prosperity, which rendered him the object of admiration to the surrounding nations, for the wisdom as well as the prudence of his government. Athelstan died in 940, and was buried in Malmsbury Abbey. He was succeeded by his brother Edmund.

The reign of Edmund lasted only six years. As he was celebrating at Pucklekirk, in Gloucestershire, the feast of St. Augustine, he was perfidiously killed by the hand of Leof, a noted outlaw. The king left two sons, Edwy and Edgar; but the eldest being only nine years of age, Edred, the only remaining son of king Edward, was chosen to represent him, and was, to use the words of the charter given on that occasion, "consecrated at Kingston to the quadripartite government of the Anglo-Saxons, Northumbrians, Pagans, and Britons.

Edred was much influenced by his ministers,—the Chancellor Turketul, and Dunstan, abbot of Glastonbury: Turketul

was a clergyman of royal descent, and the grandson of Alfred; he was honoured by the approbation of Edred and the applause of the people, and he held the first place in the royal As this minister was one day going on an urgent mission from the king to archbishop Wolstan, he was affected by the piety of three aged anchorites, the survivors of the Danish devastations of the monastery of Croyland, and felt a secret desire to become one of their society, and to restore the monastery to its former splendour. After several refusals, he obtained his sovereign's permission to this request. The public crier then announced to the citizens of London, that the chancellor, before quitting his office, was anxious to discharge his debts, and to make threefold reparation to any person whom he might have injured. When he had satisfied every demand, he gave fifty-four of his manors (the inheritance he had received from his father) to the king, and reserved six for the use of the monastery. At Croyland he made his monastic profession, and received the investiture from Edred. All the lands, formerly belonging to the monastery, had been seized by Burrhed, king of Mercia, who annexed a part to the crown, and divided the remainder among his Thanes. The former were restored by the piety of Edred; of the latter, several were purchased from the present possessors, by Turketul. At the next meeting of the Witan. he received a new grant of the whole from the king in ample form, but with the exception of the privilege of sanctuary, which he refused, as a violation of justice and an incentive to crime. From this period he spent seven-and-twenty years in the discharge of his duties as abbot. His zeal was rewarded; for at his death in 975, the monks of Croyland formed a numerous and edifying community. Dunstan had been introduced by his relatives Athelm, archbishop of Canterbury, and Elphege, bishop of Winchester, to the court of king Athelstan. The disgust excited by the jealousy of rivals, and reflections. suggested during a dangerous illness, drew his mind from worldly pursuits to the monastic state, and he received the order of priesthood. The zeal, disinterestedness, and charities, exercised by him for several years in the church of Glas-

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tonbury, attracted public notice, and caused the chanceller Turketul to recommend him to king Edmund, who bestowed upon Dunstan, Glastonbury and its possessions. By Edred, who made him the director of his conscience, Dunstan was not less respected than he had been by his predecessor. The king intrusted to his care the titles of his lands, and offered him the see of Winchester, but the abbot preferred the relirement of his monastery. The reign of Edred was prosperous, but short; frequent attacks of illness enfeebled his frame, and he died in the tenth year of his sovereignty.

CHAPTER VI.

EDWY.

Epwy, the elder son of king Edmund, ascended the throne in 955, when he was about eighteen. Unfortunately, he had imbibed a notion that the crown had belonged to him from his father's death, and he considered his uncle Edred to have been an usurper: he therefore conceived a prejudice against the late agents of government, and dismissed them from his employ as his personal enemies; and the whole nation, by this new and grievous measure, was thrown into a ferment. Their anger was most particularly roused at the king's treatment of his grandmother Edgiva; a princess venerable for her age and virtues, but who was, on some unknown pretext, despoiled of her riches and patrimony, and reduced to a state of indigence and privacy. His tyrannical conduct estranged the affections of his friends, whilst his immoral example drew upon him the odium and contempt of all his subjects. His open manner of living with Ethelgiva, his mistress, was considered an insult to his people; the just representations of Dunstan were made an excuse for forcing the abbot from his convent at Glastonbury, and to avoid involving his friends in his disgrace, he retired into exile; but being there pursued by the satellites of Ethelgiva, he was received by earl Arnulf, who appointed him a residence in the monastery of St. Peter's, at Ghent. Lingard observes that Ethelgiva was of noble birth, and of an intriguing disposition, which she employed in trying to secure the place of queen for herself or her daughter. On the day of Edwy's coronation, he hastily quitted the banquet-room to join their society, which the nobles thinking an insult, they deputed the bishop of Litchfield, and the abbot of Glastonbury, to recal the king, in the name of his nobles, and to command Ethelgiva's absence from the court, under pain of death. Ethelgiva threatened Dunstan with the weight of her displeasure-Dunstan was expelled. Edwy married, but still retained his mistress at one of his farms. Archbishop Odo, acting under a law made by king Edward, removed her out of the realm. She afterwards returned, and falling into the hands of her pursuers at Gloucester, she was, by them, hamstrung, of which cruel punishment she expired. In the third year of his reign, the Mercians rejected Edwy's authority, and his forces being inferior in number to those of his opponents, he was compelled to retire into Wessex. A civil war then divided the interess of the king and his brother Edgar, upon which a compromise was agreed to, and the river Thames fixed on as the boundary of their respective governments*. Edwy lived only one year after that arrangement, and was succeeded by his brother Edgar. Lingard has added a note (A) at the end of his first volume, for the purpose of elucidating certain transactions during the reign of king Edwy, which have been variously represented by different historians. I recommend the perusal of pages 511, and the following, in his original work, vol. i., relating to the king's marriage, and the banishment of bishop Dunstan, which subject he concludes with these words:--" On the whole, I think it plain

Lingard remarks, vol. i. p. 317, note—" It is singular that modern historians should attribute the revolt of the northern provinces, and the elevation of Edgar, to the intrigues of the monks, and of archbishop Odo, not only without a single authority in favour of the charge, but in direct opposition to the fact that both the archbishops and the monks who had suffered from the despotism of Edwy, continued faithful to him. By all ancient writers the insurrection is confined to the Mercians, East-Anglians, and Northambrians, among whom no monasteries then existed."

that Edwy was not married at the time of his coronation; that he banished Dunstan at the instigation of his mistress Ethelgiva; that after his marriage, he took her by force from her friends, and kept her in one of the royal farms, and that she was afterwards carried from thence, by force, and sent into Ireland by archbishop Odo."

EDGAR.

During a reign of sixteen years Edgar did not unsheath his sword against a foreign or a domestic foe, which caused him to be called "the peaceful." Dunstan was recalled at the beginning of this reign, and filled, successively, the bishoprics of Worcester and London: being afterwards elected archbishop of Canterbury, he repaired to Rome, and obtained the pallium from John XII.

At a Witan held at York in 966 Edgar thus addressed the assembly:—"It is my will that the Danes choose for themselves such laws as are best adapted to their particular circumstances; and that the English observe the statutes which I and my counsellers have added to the ancient dooms. But one thing I would have to be common to all my people, English, Danes, and Britons, in every part of my empire: that both rich and poor possess, in peace, what they have rightfully acquired; and that no thief find a place where he may secure the property that he has stolen."—Lingard, vol. i. p. 321.

To preserve his kingdom from invasion, Edgar made an annual expedition by sea, at the season when the sea-kings usually issued forth in quest of adventures. And for the internal administration of the government, he spent the vinter months in going through the different counties, everywhere reforming abuses, inquiring into the conduct of the magistrates and officers, and in listening to the complaints of the people. By his authority, family feuds were suppressed, and men were compelled to submit the decision of their quarrels to legal tribunals.

The reformation of the church, effected during Edgar's

reign, has been marked with unmerited censure by modern writers. The most opulent monasteries had been laid in ruins by the rapacity of Danish invaders; their lands had been seized by the crown, or divided among the most powerful of the victors. Formerly, the clergy lived under particular regulations; and in seclusion from temporal pursuits, faithfully discharged their spiritual functions; but during the Danish wars, they had been dispersed amidst their relations, had divided among themselves the revenues of their respective churches, and, substituting proxies for the performance of the service, indulged in the pleasures and dissipations of the laity.

Dunstan had witnessed, during his exile, the successful efforts of the abbot Gerard, to restore religious discipline in Flanders. By his exertions, aided by other prelates, and the sanction of king Edgar, the abbeys of Ely, Peterborough, Thorney, and Malmsbury, were restored to their former state of opulence; and with a view to reform the clergy a law was enacted, that every priest, deacon, and subdeacon, should live chastely, or be ejected from his benefice.

As Edgar was magnificent and opulent, it appears extraordinary that his coronation did not take place until thirteen years after his accession to the throne. The ceremony was then performed at Bath, whence he proceeded to Chester, to receive the homage of eight princes, and was rowed along the river Dee to the church of St. John the Baptist, by the vassal kings. Upon which occasion Edgar observed to those around him,—"My successors may think themselves kings, when they can command the service of the like number of princes."

Edgar lived only two years after his coronation: he died in the year 975, leaving one son, Edward, by his first wife Elfleda the fair; and by his second marriage to Elfrida, two sons, Edmund and Ethelred.

The following is a literal version of some passages from a poem, written on the occasion of his death:—"Here ended the earthly joys of Edgar, England's king; who chose the light of another world, beauteous and happy. Here Edgar de-

parted, the ruler of the Angles, the joy of the West Saxon, the defender of the Mercians. That was known far among many nations. Kings beyond the baths of the sea-fowl was shipped him far and wide: they bowed to the king as one of their own kin. There was no fleet so proud, there was no host so strong, as to seek food in England, while this noble king ruled the kingdom. He reared up God's honour, he loved God's law, he preserved the people's peace, the best of all the kings that were before in the memory of man. And God was his helper: and kings and earls bowed to him: and they obeyed his will; and without battle he ruled all as he willed."—Lingard, vol. i. p. 331.

EDWARD THE MARTYR.

This prince had only attained his thirteenth year at the time of his father's death. His accession met with violent opposition from Elfrida, whose friends supported her in the endeavour to promote her own son Ethelred, a child in his seventh year, on the feeble argument that Edward was born before his father was crowned; but Dunstan proved the right of Edward so convincingly, that he was chosen and crowned without further opposition. The ambitious exertion of Elfrida, however, was no way abated; and by the success of her intrigue, Edward was stabbed at her gate at Corfe Castle, whilst drinking a draught of mead to refresh his thirst after hunting.

During Edward's short reign happened a catastrophest Colne, which has furnished some modern writers with a pretext for saying, that Dunstan, in order to counterfeit the performance of a miracle in defence of the monks, commanded that the floor of the room, destined to contain the members of the council, should be loosened from the walls. During the deliberation, the temporary supports were removed; and while the primate was secure in his seat above, the rest of the assembly were precipitated to the ground. Yet, as Lingard observes, if we divest the real facts of its modern embellish-

ments, it would be reduced to this, that the floor sank under the accumulated weight of the crowd; that the archbishop had the good fortune to support himself by a beam; and that, of the others, some were killed, and many were hurt in the fall*. More than this was unknown to any ancient historian: the contrivance and object ascribed to Dunstan are the fictions of later writers.

ETHELRED.

This prince was only ten years of age when he ascended the throne. He was handsome in person, and amiable in disposition; but his spirit had been broken by the violence and barbarity of his mother; and, as if to punish the crime of murder, though he was guiltless regarding the death of Edward, yet in the eyes of his subjects he appeared stained with his brother's blood. A weak attempt was made to raise an opposition in favour of Editha, the natural daughter of Edgar, but she herself rejected the offer. This reign was most disastrous; heaven seemed to conspire with man in the severity of its visitation: famine and disease afflicted the human species. whilst a contagious disorder among the cattle added to the horrors of invasion, which the northern pirates practised on different parts of the coast. At last, in 998, Ethelred succeeded in raising an armed force; but the commanders, being in secret friends to the Danes, such were the ravages made by the invaders, that Ethelred in 1001 paid the barbarians 24,000% to retire from his kingdom. This, and repeated sums given for the same purpose, procured only a temporary suspension of misery, and in 1011 England was a fallen and degraded country.

Numerous treasons, and accumulated defeats, had unnerved the courage of the natives. Since the death of Edgar, the administration of justice had been only feebly enforced,

[•] Lingard has also omitted the miracle of the crucifix speaking at Winchester, as well as Dunstan's nocturnal conflict with the devil, because, he says, "they were unknown to the ancient biographers; and that materials of this description can only deserve credit, when they are supported by more ancient evidence,"—Vol, i. p. 41, acte.

and of late it was entirely suspended. The absence of legical punishments, and a long-continued state of warfare, left menipassions free from restraint, and individuals sought to be demnify themselves for their own losses by the spoliation of their neighbours; relations sold their relatives, and parent their children, as slaves. Wherever money was known to exist, it was required by the king's officers, and to that period may be referred the origin of direct and annual taxation. The impost called Danegelt was established at that time, and became an annual land-tax of twelve pence per hide. From this the clergy were exempt.

The money which was given, at different periods, to the Danes, caused only a temporary cessation of hostilities: " that, during four years, England presented a mournful spectacle. The people became the victims of a confederacy formed by Sweyn, king of Denmark, and Olave, king of Norway; and when Ethelred, in the year 1002, espoused, as his second wife, Emma, a northern princess, the rejoicings had scarcely finished before the king ordered a general massacre of the Danes to take place on the 13th of November, which command was executed throughout every county, with every additional insult and barbarity which national hatred could suggest. In London, where they were most numerous, they were massacred in crowds round the altars to which they fled for protection. Ethelred expected by his union with Emma to have found a powerful support against the Danes in her brother Richard, duke of Normandy; but the king's neglect of the queen, and his infidelity, had lost him her affection. The nobility were divided by the influence of faction, and treason and murder were the results: the king showed himself unequal to the duties of government, and the people continued to be the sport of a vindictive and revengeful enemy, until Sweyn, having exhausted the spirit of retaliation on the murderer of his countrymen, consented to terms of peace, on receiving thirty-six thousand pounds of silver.

After Sweyn's departure he secretly permitted Thurchil to continue the same work of devastation. The first year he

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ravaged the southern provinces; in the second, he penetrated through East-Anglia into the fens, which had hitherto afforded a retreat to the natives; and the third year, he besieged the city of Canterbury. Treachery favoured the surrender, and the Danes numbered eight hundred captives, whilst eight thousand inhabitants perished in the flames. On that occasion Elphege, the archbishop, venerable for his age and virtues, was bound and dragged to behold the fate of his cathedral; in which were collected the monks and the clergy, the women and the children. The pile was set on fire, and as the melting lead and falling timbers compelled them to quit their retreat, they were massacred before the eyes of the primate, who was reserved some weeks in the hope of receiving a ransom of three thousand pounds; but the old man refused to ask his friends, or the clergy, to pay the sum. He was inhumanly murdered whilst labouring to impress his captors with a reverence for the doctrine of christianity. ravaging thirteen counties, Thurchil sold his services to Ethelred, in 1012, for the sum of 40,000l. which, when Sweyn heard, he was jealous of the chieftain's compromise with the English, and declared his intention to conquer England. Hoping thereby to inspire the islanders with a terror of his name, he issued orders to his followers "to ravage the open country, pillage the churches, burn the towns, and put every male to the sword;" which instructions were observed, except where the inhabitants appeased the invaders by prayers and hostages. Ethelred, after some unsuccessful attempts to defend London, fled in despair, and having abandoned the crown to his competitor, remained concealed in the Isle of Wight, until a messenger from his queen brought him the offer of an asylum in Normandy. However, Swevn died the following month, leaving the crown to his eldest son, Canute, who landed in 1016 at Sandwich, then the most celebrated haven in Britain, accompanied by Thurchil. When they arrived, Ethelred was confined by illness at Cosham, in Wiltshire, from whence he was removed to London, where he lingered through the winter, and died on the 23d of April, at the moment the invaders were preparing to besiege him in his capital. Of his sons, by his first wife, Edmund, Edwy, and Athelstan, survived him; and by his second, he left two others. Edward and Alfred.

EDMUND.

EDMUND was in London at the time of his father's death, and was proclaimed king by the citizens. Every preparation had been made for the siege of the capital; and a fleet of three hundred and forty sail, carrying an army of twenty-seven thousand men, was collected in the mouth of the Thames. Within the city were Edmund and his brother, the queen dowager Emma, two bishops, and several distinguished Thanes. Canute was posted at Southampton. By dint of arduous labour the Northmen effected their passage, and became masters of the Thames. The inhabitants repelled every assault with bravery, and the Dane had recourse to promises and threats: he assured the inhabitants of his protection, provided Edmund, with his brother, should be delivered into his hands; that a ransom of 15,000l, should be paid for the queen, 12,000l. for the bishops, and that three hundred hostages should be given as pledges for the fidelity of the citizens.

Edmund tried to escape during the darkness of the night A boat conveyed the royal brothers through the Danish fleet, and the men of Wessex crowded to their standard: but they had soon to contend with Canute, who, leaving a detachment to observe the city, had followed to crush the growing power of his competitor. The desperate battle of Scearstan took place, in which Edmund, with a stroke of his battle axe, divided the shield of his adversary Canute, and wounded his horse. Each army suffered severely in the murderous conflict; but the result, on the second morning, was in favour of the English. In another engagement at Brentford, the enemy had the advantage; but Edmund pursued the plunderers to Oxford, where they experienced a signal

hrow. Again Edmund met the enemy at Ashdown. e the Danes brought into the field the mysterious ard of their fathers. Almost the whole of the West n nobility are said to have perished on that day; and hieftains of each army, tired of the sanguinary warfare, ight their two kings to exchange oaths and presents. agree to a compromise; which ceremony took place e isle of Olney-the Thames being made the boundary eir respective dominions. The south was retained by und; the north by Canute; but the tax called the egelt extended to both kingdoms. Edmund, who his strength or his armour, had acquired the surname of ide, died within a month after the pacification, and buried at Glastonbury. He left two infant sons. ard and Edmund. The historians of that period were cious respecting the cause of his death, but all were red to attribute it to one or other of his enemies. "The fact is uncertain," says Lingard; " the Saxon Chronicle ntent with saying, that he departed on the feast of St. ew; the encomiast of Emma, that he died by the ation of God."-Vol. i. p. 370.

CHAPTER VII.

ENGLAND UNDER THE DANES.

CANUTE.

say he was elected by the voice of the people. Lingard us the crown was yielded to his power, and that "no had the wish or the hardihood to renew the bloody and ailing contest." As the Dane conceived himself insecure the claims of Edmund's children, he sent them, while

yet in their infancy, to his half brother Olave, king Sweden, who conveyed them to the court of Stephen, kine of Hungary, and he received them with tenderness, and educated them as his own children. Edmund died in he youth; Edward married Agatha, daughter of the empeter of Germany. Edwy, brother to the late king, went by the name of king of the peasants; he was murdered in the bosom of his family, whilst his half brothers, Edward and Alfred, were in Normandy, and were favoured by their uncle Richard, who was disposed to support their claims but that the Dane wisely disarmed Richard's enmity by asking the hand of his sister Emma, the relict of Ethelred, in marriage; and she, flattered with the prospect of royalt, accepted the offer-it being previously agreed that he offspring, by Canute, should succeed to the crown of England. The policy of Canute soon suggested the necessity of sending back the Danish army, the presence of which was a constant source of animosity to the natives : a large sum was levied for the purpose, and Canute retained, of all the associates of his labours and conquests, only the crews of forty ships, which, probably, composed the royal guard.

Though Canute had received baptism, he knew little of the christian doctrine; but no sooner was he seated on the English throne, than the ferocity of his disposition yielded to the precepts of religion; and the sanguinary sea-king was insensibly moulded into a just and beneficent monarch. He placed the two nations on an equality, and admitted them alike to offices of trust and emolument. He prohibited the custom of sending christians for sale into foreign countries, because of the danger of their being seduced from their religion by infidel masters; and in his frequent visits to Denmark, he took with him pious and learned missionaries to civilize and instruct his countrymen. Although he released the kingdom from the horrors of domestic war, his ambition aimed at the crown of Norway, which his father had formerly worn, but which had been divided between the brothers Eric

and Haco. In Norway he was received with joy and professions of attachment. Canute's last military effort was directed against Scotland, in which he also proved successful; so that his courtiers, accustomed to see him obeyed by the English, Scots, Welsh, Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians, in order to please his vanity, extolled him as the greatest of kings: upon which, one day, as he was sitting on the shore near Southampton, he commanded the sea to respect its sovereign; and the influx of the tide compelling him to retire, he took that opportunity to convince his flatterers of the weakness of earthly kings, when compared with the power of the Supreme Being who rules the elements. Impressed with this idea, he is said, on his return to Winchester. to have taken the crown from his head, to have placed it on the crucifix in the cathedral, and never more to have worn it.

Of Canute historians speak highly, as regarding his piety, and his equitable system of government. He revised several old laws, and formed many new ones, all of which tended to the public welfare,—but in a paroxysm of passion he murdered a soldier, upon which he assembled his council, descended his throne, and demanded punishment: they left the decision to his wisdom, and he adjudged himself to pay nine times the usual pecuniary fine; to which he added nine other talents, as a compensation. In 1030, Canute went to Rome, and on his return, thinking it proper to visit Denmark, he despatched the Abbot of Tavistock with a letter to England, of which the following is a copy:—

"Canute, king of all Denmark, England and Norway, and of part of Sweden, to Egelnoth the metropolitan, to archbishop Alfric, to all the bishops and chiefs, and to all the nation of the English, both nobles and commoners, greeting. I write to inform you that I have lately been at Rome, to pray for the remission of my sins, and for the safety of my kingdoms, and of the nations that are subject to my sceptre. It is long since I bound myself by vow to make this pilgrimage; but I had been hitherto prevented by affairs of

state, and other impediments. Now, however, I humble thanks to the almighty God, that he has allo to visit the tombs of the blessed apostles, Peter ar and every holy place within and without the city of and to honour and venerate them in person. An have done, because I had learned from my teachers, apostle St. Peter received from the Lord the great i binding and loosing, with the keys of the kingdom of On this account I thought it highly useful to so

patronage with God.

"Be it moreover known to you, that there was at tival of Easter a great assemblage of noble personal the lord the pope John, and the emperor Conrad. all the chiefs of the nations, from mount Gargan nearest sea, who all received me honourably, and n valuable presents; but particularly the emperor, w me many gold and silver vases, with rich mantles a ments. I therefore took the opportunity to treat pope, the emperor, and the princes, on the grievance people, both English and Danes; that they might eni equal law, and more secure safeguard in their way to nor be detained at so many barriers, nor harassed b exactions. My demands were granted both by the and by king Rodulf, to whom the greater part of the belong; and it was enacted by all the princes, that I whether pilgrims or merchants, should for the futur Rome and return in full security, without detention barriers, or the payment of unlawful tolls.

"I next complained to the pope, and expressed pleasure that such immense sums were extorted fi archbishops, when according to custom they visit apostolic see to obtain the pallium. A decree was ma this grievance should cease. Whatever I demanded. benefit of my people, either of the pope, or the empe the princes, through whose dominions lies the road to was granted willingly, and confirmed by their oaths. presence of four archbishops, twenty bishops, and a

tude of dukes and nobles. Wherefore I return sincere thanks to God, that I have successfully performed whatever I had intended, and have fully satisfied all my wishes.

"Now, therefore, be it known to you all, that I have dedicated my life to the service of God, to govern my kingdoms with equity, and to observe justice in all things. If by the violence or negligence of youth, I have violated justice heretofore, it is my intention, by the help of God, to make full compensation. Therefore I beg and command those to whom I have confided the government, as they wish to preserve my friendship, or save their own souls, to do no injustice either to rich or poor. Let all persons, whether noble or ignoble, obtain their rights according to law, from which no deviation shall be allowed, either from fear of me, or through favour to the powerful, or for the purpose of supplying my treasury. I have no need of money raised by injustice.

"I am now on my road to Denmark, for the purpose of concluding peace with those nations who, had it been in their power, would have deprived us of both our crown and our life. But God has destroyed their means; and will, I trust, of his goodness preserve us, and humble all our enemies. When I shall have concluded peace with the neighbouring nations, and settled the concerns of my eastern dominions, it is my intention to return to England, as soon as the fine weather will permit me to sail. But I have sent you this letter beforehand, that all the people of my kingdom may rejoice at my prosperity. For you all know that I never spared nor will spare myself, or my labour, when my object is the advantage of my subjects.

"Lastly, I entreat all my bishops, and all the sheriffs, by the fidelity which they owe to me and to God, that the church-dues, according to the ancient laws, may be paid before my return: namely, the plough alms, the tithes of cattle of the present year, the Peter-pence, the tithes of fruit in the middle of August, and the kirk-shot at the feast of St. Martin, to the parish church. Should this be omitted, at my return I will punish the offender by exacting the whole

fine appointed by law.—Fare ye well."—Lingard, vol. i. pp. 383, 4, 5.

Canute lived three years after his pilgrimage to Rome, and died at Shaftesbury in 1035, and was buried at Winchester. By his queen Emma he left a son, named Hardicanute, and a daughter Gunihlda, who married the son of Conrad, emperor of Germany. Previous to his marriage, Canute had two sons by Alfgiva, the daughter of Alfhelm, earl of Northampton. Their illegitimacy in the opinion of the age not being any disgrace, to Sweyn was given the crown of Norway; and Harold, the younger, by his promptitude and the favour of the soldiery, ascended the throne of England on the demise of his father.

HAROLD, SURNAMED HAREFOOT.

By the marriage settlement between Canute and Emma, the crown ought to have devolved on Hardicanute; but his absence, he having been previously sent to take possession of Denmark, encouraged the ambition of his illegitimate brother Harold, whose interests being also favoured by the Thingmanna of London*, the Danes in general, and the northern English, he took possession of the throne.

The delay of Hardicanute in Denmark gave scope to the power of Harold, whose short reign was marked by one of the most barbarous acts that ever disgraced manhood. Having first seduced Alfred, the youngest son of Ethelred, into England, by means of a forged letter, pretended to be written by his mother Emma, he caused the friends of the prince, who accompanied him to Guildford, to be assassinated, and then barbarously murdered the unsuspecting Alfred. "Never," says one of the chroniclers, "was a more bloody deed done in this land since the arrival of the Danes." No details of Harold's government have been transmitted to posterity. One writer insinuates that he was a benefactor to the church: another, hostile

We find the Thingmanna, as explained in the succeeding reign, to be the Danish employed in the service of England.

to his memory, asserts, that through hatred of Christianity, he absented himself from all the public offices of religion, His principal amusement was the chase, in which he often hunted on foot, and from his fleetness acquired the surname of 'Harefoot.' After a reign of four years he died, and was buried at Westminster."

HARDICANUTE.

This prince was with his mother Emma, (who, after the murder of Alfred, had accepted an asylum at Bruges from Baldwin of Flanders,) when a messenger arrived with intelligence of the death of Harold, and who was followed by a deputation of English and Danish thanes, requesting Hardicanute to ascend the throne of his father. On his arrival in London, his feelings urged him to an act of impotent revenge: he ordered the tomb of his predecessor to be opened, the body to be decapitated, and the head and trunk to be thrown into the Thames. The command was obeyed; and the head and trunk were both recovered by some fishermen, who deposited them in the cemetry of St. Clements, London, the burying place of the Danes. The archbishop of York publicly accused earl Godwin of the murder of Alfred—the prince was under his protection at the time, and it occurred within his town of Guildford. Godwin cleared himself of the charge in the legal manner, and was restored to the favour of the king, to whom be presented a magnificent ship, of the usual dimensions, and of which the stern was covered with plates of gold. nied eighty warriors, the retainers of Godwin. Their lances, belmets, and coats of mail, were gilt; the hilts of their words, the nails and bosses of their shields, were of gold; and they wore round each arm two golden bracelets, each of titeen ounces' weight.

Hardicanute is described to have been mild in his manners, and generous in his disposition. His table was copiously supplied at four different hours of the day. He sent for Edward, his half-brother, received him with sincere friendship, and gave him a princely establishment; all his conduct was

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the presage of a tranquil and prosperous reign; but I stitution was enfeebled by frequent attacks of disea his second year he honoured with his presence the nu a noble Dane at Lambeth. As he was standing in the of the company, and lifting the cup to his mouth, he sefell to the ground speechless, and in a short time of this body was laid near that of his father at Winchester.

The death of Hardicanute severed the crown of D from England.

CHAPTER VIII.

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.

Before the body of the departed king was laid in the his half-brother Edward had ascended the throne, w crowned the following Easter, by archbishop Edsv. torians agree in opinion, that this king was rather go great. Having spent twenty-seven years of his life i he had acquired habits of moderation and tranquill that when he took possession of the throne, at the forty, he had passed the period of growing ambitio aimed only to preserve peace, promote religion, enfo ancient laws, and lessen the burdens of his people. accession Edward found three powerful chieftains ne throne, Godwin, Leofric, and Siward. When united noblemen were more than a match for the king; and fortunate that at the commencement of his reign every of private dissension was overlooked in their commo for the royal service. By their aid the crown was rest the Saxon line; and the Danish families, whose fidel ambiguous, were driven out of the kingdom. To the sufferers was added Emma, the queen-mother; her tre were seized, and the cattle and corn swept from her la Winchester; though she was still permitted to reside until her death in 1052. Edward being importuned council to marry, disclosed to Editha, daughter of ear

win, that he had bound himself by vow to a life of continence: but offered, on the condition that he should observe his vow, to place her by his side upon the throne. Their nuptials were celebrated in 1044, and she was crowned queen. Besides being a woman of amiable manners, Editha possessed virtue and knowledge. The power of the Godwins received a shock from the ungovernable passions of Sweyn, the eldest of earl Godwin's five sons. He violated the person of Edgiva. the abbess of Leominster, for which offence the piety of Edward sent him into banishment; from which state, after the commission of repeated acts of violence. Sweyn received the king's pardon in the year 1051. Soon after this, the Godwins openly braved the royal authority. They had long been jealous of the share which the Normans held in the royal favour, and were anxiously watching for an opportunity to drive them out of the kingdom. It happened that Eustace, tarl of Boulogne, who had married Edward's sister, paid a visit to his brother-in-law. At Dover (a town belonging to Godwin) an affray took place between his attendants and the burghers, in which an equal number of Englishmen and Frenchmen were slain. Eustace and Godwin were enemies. and to such a length did the animosity of the latter prevail, that in order to quell the insurrection, Edward asked the aid of William, duke of Normandy. But when he reached the coast of England with a powerful fleet, peace had been restored; and William, who landed with a gallant train of the knights, was kindly received by the king, visited several of toyal villas, and was dismissed with magnificent presents.

Many have pretended that the future succession of William to the crown of England was the real object of this interview; but Ingulf, who accompanied William on his return to Normandy, and was for several years his confidential secretary, tesures us, that the idea of succeeding to the English throne and not then presented itself to William's mind.

The restoration of the Godwins was effected through the policy of Stigand: but the king persisted in refusing to the the Sweyn, who had been guilty of murder; and Sweyn seeing himself forced to submit to the discipline of the eccle-

siastical canons, walked, a barefoot pilgrim, from F to Palestine; and on his return finished his penance life in the province of Lycia.

Edward was greatly imposed upon by the assumed n of Stigand, who, without learning, without any of the becoming his profession, attained to the highest dignit English church. His only merit was an aptitude for it He had been originally noticed by Canute, and appoint of the royal chaplains. By the intervention of friend the aid of presents, he became bishop of Helmstan Helmstan, he was removed to Selsey, and Wincheste now had gained the great object of his ambition, the episcopal see of Canterbury. Pope Alexander II, sus Stigand from the exercise of his functions. Still, un patronage of the Godwins, he contrived to deceive the plicity of Edward; and his avarice absorbed at the time the revenues of the churches of Canterbury and chester, as well as of the monasteries of St. August Alban's, Ely, and Glastonbury.

The principal calamities of this reign were pestiler famine; evils which, at that period, occasionally every part of Europe. The benevolent heart of I mourned over the distresses of his people, and he adopted every expedient which seemed likely to not their sufferings. The Danegelt had now been paid eight years, and formed a considerable part of the revenue. In 1051, the king sacrificed this advantage relief of the people. On another occasion, when the had raised a large sum on their vassals, and offere the sovereign as the free gift of his subjects, he refur present, as extorted from the poor, and commanded should be restored to the original contributors.

The only foreign war maintained by Edward, wagainst Macbeth, the usurper and murderer of Duncal of Scotland. The aid of an English army assisted Mathe son of Duncan, to recover his rights; and the vic Lanfanan, in Aberdeenshire, by the fall of Macbeth, as the crown on the head of the rightful heir.

g Edward wished, according to the fashion of those to visit Rome. Hardly a year passed in which 3, thanes, or abbots, did not proceed to offer their deon the altars at Rome. Aldred, bishop of Worcester. st returned, after leaving, as a memorial of his visit to pulchre of the Saviour, a golden chalice, of the weight marks; and Edward bound himself by vow to visit stolic see. But his design was opposed by his witan: thich he sent for his nephew and namesake, the exiled his brother Edmund, and who, in the Saxon line, was atful heir to the throne. The Prince arrived in London gatha, his wife, and his children, Edgar, Margaret, hristina. From the time of their arrival, the prince pt at a distance from the king, and in a few days he uddenly, not without suspicion being attached to , who was now become the most powerful subject in id; and between whom and the throne there stood le individual, namely, Edgar, son of the lately deceased Edward. The other side of the channel, however, exa more formidable competitor in William, duke of indy; but neither of these could boast the remotest by descent.

in accidental occurrence, Harold fell into the hands of uy, who surrendered him to William at Eu in Nor; and Harold found himself so completely a prisoner, e induced to do homage for his lands and honours to a, as the apparent successor of Edward: and further, was constrained to swear that he would promote the ion of the duke to the English crown; that he would his interests in the court of Edward; and that he would horman garrison into the town of Dover.

old returned to London only five weeks before the of Edward. When the witan opposed the king's to Rome, Leo IX. authorized him to substitute some rork of piety. With this view, the monarch set apart of his yearly revenue, and rebuilt, from its foundation, urch of St. Peter. The festival of the Innocents was y appointed for the dedication of the new church: the

ceremony was performed; but the king was too ill to leave his chamber, and Editha represented the royal founder. After lingering a week, Edward died, on the 5th of January, 1066, and was buried on the following day, in the church he had erected.

Edward ranks among the best princes of his time. By his labours to restore the dominion of the laws; his vigilance to ward off foreign aggression; his constant, and ultimately successful solicitude to appease the feuds of his nobles,-if he did not prevent the interruption, he secured, at least, a longer duration of tranquillity than had been enjoyed in England for half a century. As his intellects were rather below than above mediocrity, it was a fortunate circumstance for the memory of Edward, that he occupied the interval between the Danish and Norman conquests; as writers were induced to view his character with more partiality, from the hatred with which they looked on his successors and his predecessors. "Hence," observes Lingard, "he appeared to shine with a purer light amid the gloom with which he was surrounded; and whenever the people, under the despotism of the Norman kings, had an opportunity of expressing their real wishes, they constantly called for the 'laws and customs of the good King Edward,' who was revered for his piety and his amiable benevolence. He was the first of our princes who touched for the king's evil. The surname of the 'Confessor' was given to him from the bull of his canonization. issued by Alexander III. about a century after his decease."

HAROLD.

In consequence of a report that Edward had appointed Harold to be his successor, the latter was proclaimed king, and was crowned by Aldred, the archbishop of York; while to Edgar, who was the last male descendant of the race of Cerdic, was given the earldom of Oxford.

When the messenger arrived in Normandy, who carried intelligence from the English court of the death of Edward the accession of Harold, William, duke of Normandy,

HAROLD. 55

ned his council, and informed them it was his intention by force of arms, to make good his claim to the crown land. Preparations were made by both parties, and was waiting with confidence the threatened invasion iam, when his projects were disconcerted by the arrival et of invaders, under the command of Hardrada, king way. A desperate battle was fought near York, in Hardrada was shot through the neck by an arrow; and the exiled earl of Northumberland, having assumed nmand, the battle was continued with obstinate valour, t terminated with the death of Tostig, and of every ted chieftain in the Norwegian army.

old repaired to York, where, as he was seated at the sanquet, surrounded by his thanes, the arrival and desert the Normans on the coast of Sussex was announced

tam effected his landing on the 29th of Septemter spending eight months in active preparation:
rtions were seconded not only by his own subjects, but
s, Poitevins, Burgundians, and warriors from every
e of France, crowded to his standard; all believing
ere about to fight in the cause of justice, against an
r of religion and a perjured traitor. These impreswere strengthened by a consecrated banner, sent by
Alexander III. to William, and which, to the troops,
presented as the sanction of their intended expedition
head of their church. The armament consisted of
thousand vessels*

brothers of Harold entreated him to absent himself. have sworn," they said, "fealty to William; you cannot y fight against a prince, to whom, in the name of God, we promised submission. Leave to us the direction of ttle; we are bound by no oaths; we know nothing of orman, except as the enemy of our country." Harold d at their apprehensions, and selected as the spot for

duke's ship was a present from his wife Matilda. On the prow was an image representing a boy, who with his right hand pointed to England, and with his a trampet of ivary to his mouth.

56 HAROLD.

this important contest Senlac, an eminence about nin from Hastings. By the royal standard stood Harold a brothers Garth and Leofwin, and around them the every man on foot. On the opposite hill William w

ployed in marshalling his host.

When both armies were ready to engage, the No raised the national shout of "God is our help!" was as loudly answered by the adverse cry of "(rood! the holy rood!" The battle seemed for some favour of the English, and a report spread that Willia fallen; but the duke, with his helmet in his hand, rode the line, exclaiming, "I am still alive, and with the God, I still shall conquer."

Long and desperate was the contest of that day: the g was strewed with the slain, and yet the ardour of the sur combatants seemed unabated: when a little before su an arrow, shot at random, entered Harold's eye. He ins fell, and the knowledge of his fall relaxed the efforts English.

On the side of the victors almost sixty thousand me been engaged, and more than one-fourth were left of The number of the vanquished, and the amount their loss, are unknown. The king's mother begged, boon, the body of her son, offering as a ransom its wei gold; but William ordered the corpse of the fallen me to be buried on the beach, adding with a sneer, " He gu the coast while he was alive; let him continue to gu after death." By stealth, however, or by purchase, the remains were removed, and deposited in the church of tham, which Harold had founded before he ascende throne. Lingard has attached an appendix to this part English history, which is extremely interesting, as conta a particular account of the manners and feudal system of Anglo-Saxons. Among the several remarks is a descri of the "king's peace," and God's peace, observances v extended at the coronation, and on certain occasions to whole kingdom; and at all times within a limited distan the royal residence, which was whimsically fixed at

miles, three furlongs, three roods, nine feet, nine hands (inches), and nine barley-corns.

In criminal cases, where the accused pleaded not guilty, he had the option of proving his innocence by the purgation of lada, or swearing, or by the ordeal or judgment of God. In the first he began by calling on God to witness that he was innocent, both in word and work, of the crime laid to his charge. He then produced his purgators, who swore that "they believed his oath to be upright and clean." These purgators were required to be freeholders who had never been arraigned for theft, nor ever convicted of perjury, and who were now acknowledged for "true men" by all present. When recourse was had to the ordeal, as the decision was here left to the Almighty, three days were spent by the accused in fasting and prayer. On the third, having been adjured by the priest not to go to the ordeal if conscious of guilt, he was communicated with these words: "May this body and blood of Christ be to thee a proof of innocence this day." He then proceeded to the ordeal, which was of fire or water, and from which the presence of strangers was excluded. The accuser and the accused, each attended by twelve friends, proceeded to the spot. For the ordeal by water, a fire was kindled under a caldron in a remote part of the church. At a certain depth below the surface, which was augmented in proportion to the enormity of the crime, was placed a stone or piece of iron of a certain weight. After the litanies had been recited, a person from each party was deputed to examine the caldron, and if they agreed that the water boiled, and the stone was placed at the proper depth, the accused advanced, plunged in his arm, and took out the weight. The priest immediately wrapped a clean linen cloth round the part that was scalded, fixed on it the seal of the church, and opened it again on the third day. If the arm were perfectly healed, the accused was pronounced innocent: if not, he suffered the punishment of his offence. In the ordeal by fire, the same precautions were observed respecting the number and position of the attendants. Near the fire a space was measured equal to nine of the prisoner's feet, and divided by lines into three

Ta.2.

equal parts. By the first stood a small stone pillar. At the beginning of the mass a bar of iron, of the weight of one of three pounds, according to the nature of the offence, we laid on the fire; at the last collect it was taken off, and placed on the pillar. The prisoner immediately grasped it his hand, made three steps on the lines previously traced of the floor, and threw it down. The treatment of the burn at the indications of guilt or innocence, were the same as the in the ordeal by hot water."

"The sale and purchase of slaves publicly prevailed duming the whole of the Anglo-Saxon period. They were sold has cattle in the market, and a slave was usually estimated at loss times the price of an ox. To the importation of foreign slaves no impediment was opposed; the export of native slaves we forbidden; but the pursuit of gain taught the Northumbrian to brave all the efforts of the legislature. The men of Bristol were the last to abandon this nefarious traffic; they at length yielded to the zeal of Wulstan, bishop of Worcester. That prelate visited Bristol several years successively, and preached on every Sunday against the barbarity and irreligion of the dealers in slaves. At last the merchants were convinced by his reasons, and in their guild solemnly bound themselves to renounce the trade."

CHAPTER IX.

WILLIAM I., SURNAMED THE CONQUEROR.

Among the sea-kings of the tenth century was Rollo, a man so eminently active in the pursuit of ravage and plunder, that he acquired the appellation of the Ganger. The principal theatre of his exploits was the north of France, where he reigned, the terror of the maritime provinces, until the eloquence and piety of Franco, archbishop of Rouen, tamed the savage rapacity of Rollo, and prevailed with him to embrace Christianity. He became a vassal of the French crown, and received with the hand of Gisla, daughter of relation; and in less than a hundred and fifty years after tollo's conversion, the Normans ranked among the most solished, as well as the most warlike, nations of Europe.

E: The fifth in succession from Rollo, was Robert II., who lied in consequence of the fatigue he experienced in a pilgrimage to the Holy Land; leaving an illegitimate son, William, born in 1027, by Herleva, the daughter of an officer n the royal household. The interesting manners of the pooy induced his father (previous to his making the voyage, on the return from which he died at Nice) to obtain a promise from the barons, to acknowledge William as the heir to the dukedom. Earl Gilbert was appointed his guardian. and the king of France promised the boy his protection. But earl Gilbert died, and the interests of the orphan William were totally forgotten, and absorbed in the violence and rapacity of the barons. But, at the age of nineteen, the young hero came into the field to defend his claim to the succession against the legitimate descendants of Richard II.. the father of duke Robert; and such was William's valour and bravery on that occasion, that his conduct extorted the respect of his adversaries. Baldwin of Flanders gave him his daughter Matilda in marriage, and at the end of the campaign he was universally considered as one of "the boldest knights and most enterprising sovereigns in Christendom."

William had vainly expected on his return to Hastings, after the battle of Senlac, that the British crown would have been offered to him: a few days dissipated the illusion. London was put in a state of defence by its citizens, and it required great strength of exertion to subdue the English to his yoke; but the power of his arms compelled them to submission: the castle of Dover yielded, and the inhabitants of Kent gave hostages as security for their obedience.

In London, a different course was pursued. The Etheling Edgar, the rightful claimant, was placed on the throne; but he was young, and deficient of abilities to guide the helm in so tempestuous a season, and the first place in the council devolved on Stigand, the metropolitan. The earls Edwin

and Morear continued in London with the forces, which been committed to their command before the fate of H was decided. In the mean time mistrust and disunior sided in the councils of Edgar; the earls, Edwin Morear, were accused by the natives of harbouring which were inimical to the interests of Edgar; and the earls left the city in disgust, which added to the general sternation; and as William was crossing the Thames at hingford, he was met by Stigand, who swore fealty to his sovereign, and was received by the king with the aption of father and bishop.

The prelate's defection was followed by that of others the determination of those who still wavered was acceleby the rapidity with which the Norman pursued his A deputation arrived on the part of Edgar, consisting anobility, the clergy, and the principal citizens of Lowbo, in the name of their fellows, swore allegiant the conqueror, gave hostages, and made him an offer a grown. He affected not to accept it until his Norman behad ratifled the proposal with their applause; and the appointed the festival of Christmas for his coronation.

It accordingly took place in Westminster Abbey, or 23th of December; but the ceremony was interrupted most interesting part, by the sudden shout of the No soldiers, whom William had placed in the neighbourho be ready, in case of any hostility being offered by the in tants of London, who were brave, mutinous, and, above confident in the strength of their numbers. At the mo that the assembly within pouring forth acclamations in ren sposed to their liether they v recise moment d began to plu sult which then supposed to a . beenuse

> themselve orbarians,

equal right imagined they had been drawn together as vicims doomed for slaughter. All fled to provide for their own safety, leaving the king at the foot of the altar, with only the prelates and the clergy. He refused, however, to suspend the ceremony, and took the oath of the Anglo-Saxon kings, with this additional clause: "that he would govern as justly as the best of his predecessors."

2 By William, who wished to reconcile the contending jealousies and animosities of his subjects, the interruption at his coronation was greatly regretted. The Normans offered as their excuse, that they had mistaken the shouts of loyalty for the cry of insurrection; but they did not fly to defend their king, and every thing tended to prove that the outrage was designed as affording an opportunity for plunder, to which the Normans had been addicted from nature, habit. and the predatory course they had hitherto pursued. aware was their king of this bias in the disposition of his followers, that he called an assembly of his barons, and admonished them, that the indulgence of their former habits would drive the natives to rebellion, and draw indelible disgrace on their country; he then appointed commissioners to see that certain new regulations, regarding the protection of females, and the prevention of rapine, insult, and assault, should be strictly observed.

All the first measures of the conqueror's reign tended to allay former animosities, and to win the affections of his new subjects; all his commands seemed to be dictated by justice, and moderation, with a due regard to ancient laws and customs. The monarch was easy of access, and listened graciously to the complaints of those who approached him. From this period the term "bastard," which hitherto had distinguished William, was dropped; and he received the name of "conqueror." From London he moved his court to Barking, and then proceeded through the neighbouring counties, taking with him as his friend, the Etheling Edgar, to whom he gave an extensive property.

The followers of William had accompanied him to England on the usual terms of retainers, and expected to be discharged.

at the expiration of their engagement; to prevent a succe the sovereign saw that a military force was a sody of order to ensure the obedience of the natives, he of ma several of the chieftains to remain; by making to the I did, donations of land, either from the roys poperor Ale from the property of those who had fallen Senlac; and these rewards were holden tunder military service. =7, the Norm

In the principal towns he built forts for the garrisons. At the same time he ord of a monastery to be erected on the spot the victory over Harold; from which

Abbey.

No sooner had the king concluded than he made a visit to his hereditary de whither he was accompanied by a no earls and knights, as well as many thanes, and prelates, who appeared person, but many of whom we hostages for the fidelity of their description were Stigand, archli noth, abbot of St. Augustine's: earl of Mercia; Morcar, earl of earl of Northampton and Hunti nobles whom curiosity had dra

To enhance, in the eyes of value of his conquests, William treasures which he had eitl battle, or received us prewhich, with the golden have tended for pres for the church

telligence he re returned to Emp a a sabdae by severi similared no power sbjects proved a To bous spirit which refused comp Earl Edwin's exe and in the north, s bed him his daugh mis refused to fulfil ist the monarch. smoothed to subm ed as Whitsantid then with her son a product to leave

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York followed Scotland, with ommander; but prince surprised conflict; the city of soldiers, who promonarch returned

or had seated himself on mish fleet, under the comse protection the English his uncle, and Christian, in of English ships, joined rchbishop of York, died of :; and the Normans, to clear abouring houses, which in three educed the cathedral and great When the news of this ashes. illiam, he was taking his favourite the forest of Dean. On hearing the a paroxysm of passion, "by the ghty!" that not one Northumbrian geance. In fact, the king had been repared for, the danger: he had gained le encouraged by present rewards and d having proceeded to the Humber, Sbern, er of the Danish fleet, sold his services to a considerable sum; for which act of treagraced by his own sovereign at his return to

rs of both parties in this desultory warfare were troops pillaged the defenceless inhabitants with-inction of friend or foe, and the interruption of pursuits caused an alarming scarcity during ceeding years.

The conqueror forfeited all his eling; for, pursuing the waste Yorkshire and the Durham. H. ed his retainers in small.

divisions, he gave them orders to spare neither man nor heast; but to destroy houses, corn, implements of husbandry, and whatsoever might be rendered conducive towards the support of life. For the period of nine years not a patch of cultivated ground was to be seen between York and Durham; and at the distance of a century, eye-witnesses assure us that the country was strewed with ruins.

The Scots considered such of the natives as had submitted to William as the enemies of independence, and poured down their barbarous hordes to glean what the Normans had left. Impelled by the hope of plunder and the thirst of revenge, Malcolm, with his army, crossed the Tyne, burnt the churches and villages, massacred the aged and the infants, and then forced along with him all who were able to bear the fatigue of the journey; and with these every farm in the south of Scotland was furnished with English slaves.

When Malcolm returned from this expedition, he asked Margaret, the sister of Edgar, in marriage. The princess, then in her twenty-second year, turned with disgust from a husband covered with the blood of so many innocent victims, and she pleaded an inclination for a conventual life; but her objections were overcome by the authority and advice of her brother.

From that period the conqueror pursued one and the same object throughout his conduct, namely, to depress the natives by exalting the foreigners; so that every place of dignity, emolument, and authority, was filled by Normans. On his return from his northern expedition, William despoiled the monasteries of their treasures, under pretence that they were the property of the enemy; as the English had made those places the deposites of such valuables as they desired to secure from the plund

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ourt of exchequer, lectors were passed, cognizable. All were comThe Northumbrians revolted, the citizens of York followed he example, and, joined by the exiles from Scotland, with Edgar, appointed William Mallet as their commander; but ae informed the king of his danger, and the prince surprised the besiegers. Hundreds perished in the conflict; the city of York was abandoned to the rapacity of the soldiers, who pronaned and pillaged the cathedral, and the monarch returned priumphant to Winchester.

65

About three years after the conqueror had seated himself on 5 the throne of England, arrived the Danish fleet, under the comimand of Canute, son to Sveno, whose protection the English had requested; assisted by Sbern, his uncle, and Christian, Edgar, with a squadron of English ships, joined them in the Humber. Aldred, archbishop of York, died of grief at the threatening prospect; and the Normans, to clear the ground, set fire to the neighbouring houses, which in three days, spread by the wind, reduced the cathedral and great part of the city of York to ashes. When the news of this disaster was brought to William, he was taking his favourite amusement of hunting in the forest of Dean. On hearing the intelligence he swore, in a paroxysm of passion, "by the splendour of the Almighty!" that not one Northumbrian should escape his vengeance. In fact, the king had been aware of, and had prepared for, the danger: he had gained auxiliaries, whom he encouraged by present rewards and future promises; and having proceeded to the Humber, Sbern, the ostensible leader of the Danish fleet, sold his services to the monarch for a considerable sum; for which act of treachery he was disgraced by his own sovereign at his return to Denmark.

The sufferings of both parties in this desultory warfare were severe. The troops pillaged the defenceless inhabitants without any distinction of friend or foe, and the interruption of agricultural pursuits caused an alarming scarcity during several succeeding years. The conqueror forfeited all his claim to religion or to humane feeling; for, pursuing the rancorous impulse of revenge, he lay waste Yorkshire and the whole of Durham. Having dispersed his retainers in am

Ingulf, abbot of Croyland, was another whose pron was the act of William. Ingulf was born in London had studied at Westminster and at Oxford: at the William visited Edward the Confessor, he was employ the Norman as his secretary. After that, Ingulf emb the monastic habit at Fontanelles; and when Wulp abbot of Croyland, was deposed and imprisoned, Wibestowed the abbey on his former secretary Ingulf, always retained the heart of an Englishman, and profite cause of the natives. He has left a detailed account the abbey from its foundation.

In the year 1078, William felt himself undisputed nof England. Scotland had yielded to his power; its Malcolm, was allowed to retain the government as a to the English crown, but he performed the ceremo homage to William at Abernethy, on the Tay, and hostages for his fidelity. Yet William was a Norman nobility, and the persons holding any influence in the were Normans; while the natives were depressed and g by foreign tyrants, so that an author of that period say will not undertake to describe the misery of this was people. It would be a painful task to me; and the account of the describe dispersion of the period say will be disbelieved by posterity."

In the year 1080, a book of judgment was began by of the king, who appointed commissioners to make a sof the kingdom, and who completed their work in volumes in 1086. It was called Domesday-book, "beer as Carte tells us, (Hist. of England, vol. i. p. 436,) "man was to receive his doom, or be judged by it in eas dispute about the value, tenure, payment, or services lands, should arise upon the collection of the king's or revenue, or raising extraordinary taxes. This valuable r having served ever since for a decisive evidence in such putes, is lodged in the office of the chamberlains of exchequer."

Lingard (in a note, vol. ii. p. 82) gives further inform that "The first volume is a large folio of vellum, a three hundred and eighty-two double pages, written mall character, contains thirty-one counties, beginning with Kent, and ending with Lincolnshire. The other is a quarto olume of four hundred and fifty double pages, in a large haracter, but contains only the counties of Essex, Norfolk, and Sussex. There is no description of the four northern counties; but the West Riding of Yorkshire is made to comprehend that part of Lancashire which lies to the north of the Ribble, with some districts in Westmoreland and Cumberland; while the southern portion of Lancashire is included in Cheshire. Rutland is similarly divided between Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire."

The sale of heiresses formed a part of the king's revenue. as to him belonged the right to dispose of them in marriage; and the settlement usually brought a douceur suitable to the fee she held. Tolls also were levied on bridges, and at fairs, &c.; and the odious tax, called danegelt, brought a large sum into the royal treasury: so that King William was reputed to be the richest prince in Christendom. In 1082, Odo aspired to the popedom, in which he had several adherents who fancied, by establishing a Norman pope, the treasures of Italy would fall into their hands; the whole scheme, however, was frustrated by the promptitude of William, who, having received intelligence of his brother's intention while in Normandy, immediately returned to England, and in the Isle of Wight met Odo with his friends and his treasures prepared to embark. Upon which the king, bursting into the hall where they were assembled, addressed the assembly in a set speech *, in which, having related the troubles which had kept him so long in Normandy, he says, "But, in this interval, my brother has oppressed my English subjects, by robbing the churches of their estates and revenues, by stripping them of the ornaments given them by our predecessors, and hath seduced my knights to follow him on the other side of the Alps, though their service is necessary to defend the

^{*} Speed's Hist. b. ix. c. 2, p. 430. The king then ordered Odo to be apprehended, and finding no one would venture to seize his person, he arrested him himself; and to his brother's remonstrance, that his sacred character of prelate exempted him from temporal jurisdiction, William replied, "I arrest not the bishop, I arrest the earl of Kent;" and be kept him in close confinement in the eastle of Rouen.

nation against the Danes, Irish, and other enemies, may prove an over-match for me. But my greatest c is for the church of God, which this man has invol affliction; whereas other Christian kings who have before me, have enriched it with presents, and hono with their most intense affections-for which, I trus now enjoy a happy retribution. Ethelbert, Edward Oswald, Althulf, Alfred, Edward the elder, Edgar, chosen and most dear Edward, have enriched the the spouse of God, with their munificence; but my b whom I intrusted with the administration, violently away her possessions, cruelly grindeth the poor, deba away my soldiers from me to secure his vain projects. oppression hath exasperated the whole nation. Co my lords, these things; and let me implore you to g your advice what is to be done in these circumstances."

As King William advanced in years, he became ver pulent, which caused his physician to prescribe a long of medicine; upon hearing which Philip of France sa "the king of England was lying in at Rouen," wh pression having been repeated to him, so exasperate liam, that he swore at his churching all France shoul a blaze; and as soon as he could sit on horseback, he France with his troops, and took Mante. The town on fire, and the king having rode to view the scene, re a bruise which, after six weeks of suffering, terminated During his last illness William bequeathed Normandy eldest son, Robert; the succession to England he s would leave to the decision of God: but expressed an wish it might fall to his second son; to whom he gav commendatory letter, addressed to the archbishop Lar To his son Henry he gave five thousand pounds of with his exhortation to be patient, and he would inhe fortunes of his brothers.

Such, Lingard observes, was the unsettled state of at that time, that, at the moment of the king's death, knights and prelates hastened to their homes to secure property; the citizens of Rouen began to conceal their

Aluable effects; the servants rifled the palace, and hurried way with their booty; and the royal corpse lay almost three ours neglected on the ground. At length the archbishop dered it to be interred at Caen; and Herluin, a neighbourge lay knight, out of compassion, conveyed it at his own expense that city." At the moment of interment, in the church of the Stephen, a voice from the crowd exclaimed, "He whom have praised was a robber. The very land on which you tand is mine. By violence he took it from my father; and the name of God, I forbid you to bury him in it." It was sceline Fitz-Arthur who spoke: the prelates paid him sixty hillings for the grave, and promised him the full value of the land.

The character of William having been variously represented, here transcribe the opinion of him, by one who was his ontemporary, and an Englishman, as related in Lingard's History, vol. ii. p. 98.

" CHARACTER OF WILLIAM I.

"If any one wish to know what manner of man he was, or what worship he had, or of how many lands he were the ford, we will describe him as we have known him; for we looked on him, and some while lived in his herd. King William was a very wise man, and very rich, more worshipful and strong than any of his fore-gangers. He was mild to good men who loved God; and stark beyond all bounds to those who withsaid his will. On the very stede where God gave him to win England, he reared a noble monastery, and set monks therein, and endowed it well. He was very worshipful. Thrice he bore his king-helmet every year, when he was in England. At Easter he bore it at Winchester, at Pentecost at Westminster, and at mid-winter at Gloucester. And then there were with him all the rich men over all England: archbishops, and diocesan bishops, abbots, and earls, thanes, and knights. Moreover, he was a very stark man, and very savage; so that no man durst do anything again his will: bishops he set off their bishoprics, abbots off

abbotries, and thanes in prison; and at last he did n his own brother Odo. Him he set in prison. Yet things we must not forget the good frith which he this land: so that a man that was good for aught, migh over the kingdom with his bosom full of gold molestation; and no man durst slay another man, th had suffered never so mickle evil from the other. I over England, and by his cunning he was so thorou quainted with it, that there is not a hide of land of w did not know, both who had it, and what was its and that he set down in his writings. Wales was un weald, and therein he wrought castles; and he wiel Isle of Man withal: moreover he subdued Scotland mickle strength; Normandy was his kinn; and over t dom called Mans he ruled; and if he might have li two years, he would have won Ireland by the fame power, and without any armament. Yet truly in h men had mickle suffering, and very many hardships. he caused to be wrought, and poor men to be oppress was so very stark. He took from his subjects many of gold, and many hundred pounds of silver; and took some by right and some by mickle might, for ve need. He had fallen into avarice, and greediness he withal. He let his lands to fine as dear as he could came some other and bade more than the first had giv the king let it to him who bade more. Then came and bid yet more, and the king let it into the hands man who bade the most. Nor did he reck how his reeves got money of poor men, or how many un things they did. For the more men talked of right the more they did against the law. He also set many friths; and he made laws therewith, that whosoever slay hart or hind, him man should blind. As he forbs slaying of harts, so also did he of boars. So much he the high-deer, as if he had been their father. He al creed about hares, that they should go free. His rick moaned, and the poor men murmured: but he was so that he recked not the hatred of them all. For it was hey should follow the king's will withal, if they wished to ive, or to have lands, or goods, or his favour. Alas, that any nan should be so moody, and should so puff up himself, and hink himself above all other men! May Almighty God have nercy on his soul, and grant him forgiveness of his sins."

CHAPTER X.

WILLIAM II.

T has been already noticed that the late monarch left three ons. Robert, the eldest, took possession of the duchy of Normandy; Henry, the youngest, finding his legacy of five bousand pounds but a poor equivalent for his ambition, reired silently to watch the course of events, resolving to seize he first opportunity which the misconduct of his brothers night offer, to better his fortune; while William, surnamed Rufus, on account of his red hair, proceeded to England with ais father's letter to Lanfranc, who had been his tutor, and with whom he was a great favourite. But although the archshop secretly supported William's pretensions, he refused to leclare openly in his favour, until the prince promised, on ath, that he would govern according to law and justice, and **yould** ask and follow the advice of the primate. In three weeks from the time of his father's decease, William II. was rowned king of England, at Westminster.

In disposition William most resembled his father; in policy, oo, he imitated him. Duke Robert was thoughtless, geneous, fond of pleasure, and very credulous. He disliked exertion, and allowed himself to be governed by the counsel of his uncle Odo, who soon led him into a conspiracy against his brother William. Odo had conceived a personal hatred towards Lanfranc, from the period when the conqueror had prevented his journey to Rome. His desire of revenge was increased on seeing the influence his rival maintained over the mind of the new king; but the machinations of Robert

and his adherents we and tyrannical measure engines he employed, His counsellor Lanfran sion to the throne; and proceeded to wrest th ther's hands. By prese. the indecisive manners to his forces the posses of the Seine. The dul feeble grasp. At the d barons expelled the tro and made war upon ea posed only a weak and to at his danger, he solid France, who marched Normandy, but on rec land, returned into his reconciliation was effect tained possession of the under a promise that h by ceding to him an tional article was adde at the decease of Will succeed to his dominion Edgar and Henry. E deprived of his estates sieged on the lofty To years he wandered a 1 cepted the government recovered a great P

To be put in p came to Engli treaty; ar heralds to compell efforts, Rober from whence twenty thousand men had assembled to embark, when each soldier was ordered to pay ten shillings for the king's use, (this was the sum each man carried with him for his support during the campaign,) and then return to his own home. With this money William purchased the retreat of the French monarch, and then went back to his dominions in England.

At this period Pope Urban II. received urgent letters from the patriarch of Jerusalem and the emperor of Constantinople, describing the sufferings of the Christians, and the danger to which the Imperial city was exposed by the near approach of the Saracens. A proposal for an expedition to the Holy Land had been received in the council of Clermont, with a firm persuasion that such was the will of God. The scheme suited the chivalrous mind of Robert; but his poverty being unequal to support the splendour due to his appearance in the enterprise, he mortgaged his dominions to the avarice of his brother, who gave him ten thousand marks, and assumed the government of the dukedom during five years.

glory, than William sailed to the continent, and demanded immediate possession of Normandy and Le Maine. The Manwho, being afterwards taken prisoner, surrendered Mans who, being afterwards taken prisoner, surrendered Mans who they were refused, Helie exclaimed, "You shall learn to feer me as an enemy." Upon which the king replied, "Go, and do thy worst."

During the period that William was engaged in making with his brother Robert in 1091, Malcolm, king of Scotsee. It had, took the opportunity of his absence from England, to maily the rapacity of his followers with the spoil of the contient counties. This outrage William amply revenged.

Malcolm did him homage, and received from him the manors and the pension which he had enjoyed under the Conqueror.

But William, on his return from Normandy, visited Carlisle, from which he expelled Dolphin, the lord of the district, and

peopled the city with a colony of Englishmen from the some and built a castle for their protection. Whether this self-ment was considered to be an act of invasion, by Malcolm uncertain; but a new quarrel was created between the tions, and on the 13th of November, 1093, Malcolm receive his death by the sword of Morel, Mowbray's steward. It queen, Margaret, survived him only four days; on which occasion the Etheling Edgar was seated on the threat, and restored the children of his sister Margaret to their invasion becomes.

Ever since Harold had effected the reduction of Wales, and natives acknowledged themselves the vassals of England but their ancient hostility was not extinguished; and in a year 1094, the natives of every district in Wales were in an Their mountainous country bade defiance to the heavy cavally of the Normans, and the best William could effect was a adopt his father's policy, and draw a chain of castles round the country, to stop their further incursions.

In the following summer messengers arrived to Williams a time when he was hunting in the New Forest, with integence that his former enemy Helie had defeated the Normans, and was laying siege to Mans: upon which he sthere so speedily that Helie had scarcely time to save his self by flight. The king ravaged the lands of his eneminand then returned to England, where he found Robert Mowbray at the head of a rebellious party. This noblem was the most powerful of the Anglo-Saxon barons: he herited from his uncle, the bishop of Constance, two hundrand eighty manors; and was moreover allied, by blood, affinity, to all the first families in England. He was joined his rebellion by many northern earls, but was at length copelled to surrender, and lived thirty years a prisoner in castle of Windsor.

When William Rufus first came to the throne, he was strained within certain bounds by the influence of bis Lanfranc, but after that prelate's death, in 1089, he g scope to his rapacious and extravagant propensities. royal treasury was very rich at the death of his father, but

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peopled the city with a colony of Englishmen from the sand built a castle for their protection. Whether this sament was considered to be an act of invasion, by Malcola uncertain; but a new quarrel was created between the tions, and on the 13th of November, 1093, Malcola record his death by the sword of Morel, Mowbray's steward queen, Margaret, survived him only four days; occasion the Etheling Edgar was seated on the three restored the children of his sister Margaret to their in honours.

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Plan III. The egulate successor

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CHARACTER OF WILLIAM II.

THE claim of this prince to the crown of England, in time of his elder brother Robert, rested solely on a expressed by his father; who, it was contended, mig pose of it as he pleased, because it did not come to inheritance, but by conquest.

In temper William was particularly violent; and redespotism, and voluptuousness, presided throughout racter. In person he was short and corpulent, with flax and a ruddy complexion. In public he endeavoured, tone of his voice, and the tenor of his answers, to int those who addressed him; but in private he descende equality with his companions, amusing them with and seeking to lessen the odium of his excesses, by them the subjects of laughter. At this king's death in his possession the revenue of one archbishopribishoprics, and eleven abbeys; all of which had been to farm.

William II, built a wall round the Tower, a bridg the Thames, and the great hall at Westminster. It w taste of that age to raise magnificent structures, and to monasteries, many of which belonged to the wealthies nobility.

About the year 1094, when Clement aspired to the p in opposition to Urban II., the legitimate successor of delaying to acknowledge either, he might enjoy with less restraint the revenues of the vacant prelacies. "It was not," Lingard observes, (vol. ii. p. 140,) "that the English church rejected the papal supremacy, but that the bishops had not been permitted to inquire into the claims of the competitors, and therefore they suspended their obedience." Again, in page 141 of the same volume, it is stated, "Anselm has been blamed for having given to the pope, during the debate, the titles of bishop of bishops, prince of all men, and angel of the great council. Whoever will peruse the original, (in Eadmer, p. 27,) will be convinced that the charge has been made by mistake. It is to Christ, and not to the pope, that the arch-bishop applied these expressions."

When the archbishop Anselm departed for Rome, he summed up his reasons in a letter to the pope, from which the following is an extract:—

"The king would not restore to my church those lands belonging to it, which he had given away after the death of Lanfranc: he even continued to give more away, notwithstanding my opposition—he required of me grievous services, which had never been required of my predecessors—he annulled the law of God, and the canonical and apostolical decisions, by customs of his own creation. In such conduct I could not acquiesce without the loss of my own soul; to plead against him in his own court was in vain, for no one dared to assist or advise. This then is my object in coming to you; to beg that you would free me from the bondage of the episcopal dignity, and allow me to serve God again in the tranquillity of my cell; and that in the next place you would provide for the churches of the English according to your wisdom and the authority of your station."-LINGARD, vol. ii. p. 144.

CHAPTER XI.

HENRY I.

ROBERT, the eldest son of William the Conqueror, had he four years absent from his dukedom of Normandy; home which time he had received the benediction of the pontal had shared with Godfrey of Bouillon the praise of such prowess in the fields of Palestine *. Had he been in Me mandy at the time of his brother's decease, his claim birthright, and the stipulation between him and Willia whereby the survivor was to succeed, added to the glory had acquired in the reduction of Nice, Antioch, and Jense lem, would, doubtless, have decided the choice of the English in his favour; but, consistent with his general conduct Robert had suffered his laurels to fade on his return by lingering on the way. His brother took advantage of his absence. Henry had followed Rufus into the forest, and fi moment that he heard the king had fallen, spurred his hor and rode to Winchester, to secure possession of the roll treasures; which, having with a faint opposition obtains he was crowned king at Westminster, by Maurice, bishop London, on the third day after the death of William. establish his accession, Henry gave a charter which unit the interests of the people with his own. It restored to church its ancient immunities, and granted to the baro and to their immediate vassals, the power to dispose of the personal property; it removed the restrictions on the m riages of females, and contained a promise to execute laws of Edward the Confessor, as they were amended his father. This important document, though too long insertion here, may be see in LINGARD'S Hist., vol. p. 152.

From the same motive of policy, Henry effected a refe

^{*} It was believed that Godfrey, with a stroke of his sword, had divided the body Turk from the shoulder to the opposite haunch; and that Robert, by the descent of falchion, had cloven the head and armour of his adversary from the crown to breast.—Lingard, vol. ii. p. 150, note.

in his own conduct, and in the morals of his associates, and drove from his court the men who had scandalized the public by their effeminacy and debaucheries*. He restored archbishop Anselm to his see, and selected for his consort Matilda, or Maud, daughter of Malcolm, king of Scotland. This lady had been intrusted to the care of her aunt Christina, the abbess of Wilton, who, to preserve her niece from the brutal conduct of the Norman soldiers, had compelled her to wear the veil, and to frequent the society of the nuns †. At first an objection was advanced to the union, which was overruled in a synod of the prelates. The marriage was celebrated, and the queen crowned, by Anselm, who had resumed the administration of his diocese.

To convince the nation of his sincerity, Henry ordered Flambard, bishop of Durham, and the obnoxious minister of the late king, to be committed to the Tower; from whence he escaped, and made his way to Normandy, where h awakened by his counsel the ambition of Robert, whose determination to recover England from his brother, had given way to feasting and pleasure; for having married Sibylla, daughter of the count Conversanna, in Apulia, where he had loitered on his return from the Holy Land, he consumed her fortune in pageantry and costly show. But roused by Flambard, and seconded by the aid of several English barons, Robert prepared for the enterprise. Anselm was the principal agent in preserving the right of allegiance to the subjects of Henry; the brothers held a conference near Winchester, at which they stipulated that both should unite in punishing their respective enemies, and that if either died without legitimate issue, the survivor should be his heir.

In person Robert was corpulent, and below the ordinary stature, which caused his father to call him Ganbaron, and

[•] The fashionable young men of the time received the appellation of effeminate from their manner of dressing. They were tunics with deep sleeves, and mantles with long trains. The peaks of their shoes were stuffed with tow, and twisted to imitate the horn of a ram; a mode which was brought into use by Fulk, earl of Anjou, to conceal the deformity of his feet.

[†] Doubtless this caused former historians to imagine that Matilda had taken the vew of chastity. Lingard observes, (in a note, vol. ii. p. 156,) that the only security to females, at that period, was seclusion in a convent.

Courthose, which names he retained as long as he lived. It disposition he was open, generous, and brave; but at a same time thoughtless, fickle, and voluptuous. His creduly made him an easy dupe, and his prodigality often reduced he to a state of poverty and dependence; his exertions we merely temporary, and by his indolence and misconduct lost his duchy, and became the prisoner of his youngs brother. His consort, Sibylla, died in 1102 of poiss, at ministered, it was believed, by Agnes, dowager counted Buckingham, who, as she possessed the affections, was ambitious to share the honours of the duke.

Henry was implacable in his disposition and vindictive his revenge: he soon found means, through the agency of in secret spies, to punish those noblemen who had revolted from his interest to the cause of Robert. Among them was Robert de Belesme, earl of Shrewsbury, the most powerful of his English subjects-a man equally deceitful as he was houghty and rapacious, and whose cruelty rose pre-eminent above his other vices: he delighted in witnessing the sufferings of his victims, and is said to have torn out the eyes of his gods. with his own hands, because the father of the boy had escaped his vengeance for some trivial offence. Against this mouster Henry had, from motives of policy, conceived a violent hatred on account of a declaration uttered by the earl, that " Henry was an usurper, and that it was dishonourable for the Normans, as well as the English, to permit him to enjoy the crown in prejudice of his elder brother." He was cited before the court, and no less than five-and-forty offences were alleged against him. When the earl obtained, according to custom, permission to retire and consult his friends, he instantly mounted his horse and fled to his castles, resolved to defend himself by arms. After a siege of three months, he lost Bridgnorth and Shrewsbury, and avoided an ignominious death, on the condition that he would depart the realm, and never more return to England.

Shortly after this event, Robert forfeited his stipulated agreement with his brother, by accepting an invitation to visit the earl of Surrey; but he had soon reason to regret

that incautious step; for, finding himself considered as a captive, he resigned his annuity of three thousand marks, as the price of his ransom, upon which occasion he sought the friendship of the outlaw Belesme, whom he still allowed to possess thirty-four castles in Normandy. This conduct afforded a pretext to Henry to declare the conditions of the alliance between him and his brother to be void; which traving done, Henry had the effrontery to hold out that he was going to act the part of a saviour to Normandy; and under that fictitious pretext, he made war against his brother. and in an obstinate conflict at Tenchebrai, the dukedom was ceded to Henry, and Robert became his prisoner *. While the king had been employed in chastising his enemies, and stripping a brother of his dominions, he was engaged in a quarrel with Anselm and the court of Rome, respecting the right of investiture. According to ancient practice, the election of the bishops had generally depended on the testimony of the clergy and the people, and the suffrages of the provincial prelates. But the lapse of years, and the conversion of the barbarous nations, had introduced innovations. The tenure of clerical, was assimilated to that of lay, property; the sovereign assumed the right of approbation, and the new bishop, or abbot, was compelled to swear fealty, and to do homage. The pretensions of the crown gradually extended, and the prince claimed for himself the right of nomination. Victor III., in a synod held at Beneventum, about the year 1077, issued a sentence of excommunication against the prince who should exercise the right of investiture, and the prelate who should accept his temporalities on such conditions. Nevertheless, the sovereigns would not resign a privilege which had been enjoyed by their predecessors, and which was defended by prelates who owed to it their wealth and The execution of that right, however, had been greatly abused by William Rufus, who had kept the vacancies for his own profit, or degraded the dignity of the church by

[•] The duke was made prisoner by Galdric the king's chaplain, for which service he was rewarded with the bishopric of Landaff; but he soon after incurred the hatred of the citizens, and was murdered in a field, with five of his prebendaries.—LINGARD, vol. ii. p. 165.

disposing of them to the highest bidder. In France and Germany the evil had been carried to a greater extent, and in Normandy the poverty of Robert had induced him to sell the reversion of ecclesiastical property. The point was at length adjusted by Anselm going to Rome, and consulting pope Paschal, who agreed to a compromise, by which the church gained but little. In a note to LINGARD's Hist., vol. ii. p .169, it is observed, "that this controversy continued to embitter the life of pope Paschal. About three years after the compromise with the king of England, Henry IV. of Germany consented to abandon the right of investiture, on condition that the pontiff would crown him in Rome; but as soon as he was admitted within the walls, he seized on Paschal, conveyed him to a castle in the neighbourhood, and kept him in confinement for two months. To obtain his liberty the pope confirmed to Henry the contested right, and solemnly swore never to excommunicate or molest him for his exercise of it. This acquiescence of Paschal was severely condemned; provincial synods were assembled; the emperor was excommunicated, and the pope was harassed by complaints and reproofs. Unable to exculpate himself to the satisfaction of the more zealous of the prelates, he condescended to appear in the council of Lateran in 1112, without the ensigns of his dignity. and to submit his conduct to public inquiry. By order of the fathers, the charter granted to Henry was burnt, and that prince was excommunicated; but Paschal himself, out of reverence to his oath, refused to pronounce the sentence, and persisted in that refusal till death."

After the victory of Tenchebrai, Henry found William, the only son of Robert, in the castle of Falaise. Averse to sacrifice the infant, who was only five years old, to his jealousy, the king gave the care of the boy to Helie, who had married duke Robert's natural daughter, and who was so faithful in the execution of his trust, that when Henry, some years after, sent Robert de Beauchamp, with a party of horse, to arrest the person of the prince, in order to imprison him, as a security against his attempting any thing hostile against his Norman dominions, the tutor abandoned his own family pos-

sessions to insure the safety of his pupil, who, under his protection, acquired the patronage of Louis, king of France, and of Fulk of Anjou, both of whom neglected his interests until five years after the death of Helie de la Fleche, who was put to death by Henry for treasonable practices. They then united with Baldwin, earl of Flanders, to espouse the orphan William's claims, in order to gratify their own resentment towards Henry. An inveterate war was thus rekindled in Normandy, which ended in giving that province to the king of England; after which the friendship of pope Calixtus II. obtained a general cessation of hostilities. This happened immediately after the battle of Brenville, in which three persons only were slain. Orderic, the historian, in relating the opposite instances of barbarism and refinement exercised by the warriors of that period, remarks, that Christian knights contend not for revenge, but for glory. On the present occasion, Henry I., after his victory, restored to Louis his charger, with the trappings of gold and silver; and his son, at the same time, sent to the son of Robert valuable presents, that the young exile might appear among foreigners with the splendour due to his birth: yet did the king of England act with unheard-of brutality towards his illegitimate daughter, Juliana, who had married Eustace, lord of Breteuil. This nobleman asked the possession of a fortress in Normandy, for which he sent his two children, daughters, to the king as hostages of allegiance for their father; whilst he was to keep Harene, the governor's son, as a pledge for the cession of the fortress at the close of the war. Eustace, feeling dissatisfied, tore out the boy's eyes, and sent him back to his father. Harene demanded justice of the king, who bade him retaliate on the daughters of Eustace. Sanctioned by the king, the wretch deprived them of their eyes and noses; after which barbarous act, Henry loaded him with presents, and sent him back to resume his office of governor. Juliana, fired with revenge, finding it unable to keep the castle, requested a parley with the king, and at his approach discharged an arrow at his breast. Her want of skill saved her from the guilt of parricide, and necessity compelled her to surrender at

HENRY I.

discretion. Henry then closed the gate, and having remove the draw-bridge, sent her an order to quit the castle. July ana, alone and unassisted, descended from the rampart in the moat, and waded through the water, which was up to waist, amid the taunts of the soldiers, who were drawn out

witness the singular spectacle.

In 1120, when the king's vanity and ambition had been gratified to their full extent, he resolved on returning to England. At Barfleur he was accosted by Thomas Filt-Stephen, a Norman mariner, who offered his majesty a min of gold, and solicited the honour of conveying him in ! vessel, "The White Ship," to England, saving, he carried his father when he went to the conquest of English Henry made answer, that he had selected a vessel for himself but he would intrust his son and treasures to the White Ship Accordingly, the young prince, who was in his eighteenth year, with Richard and Adela, natural children of the king, and a number of noble ladies and knights, set sail at sunsel but in consequence of the revelling and feasting which but previously taken place on the deck, the direction of vessel was neglected, and she struck against a rock called Catterage. Immediately Fitz-Stephen lowered the prince in a boat, ordering it to row back to land; but the shrieks Matilda moved the generous youth to return to her assistance and, in a short time, the ship went down, carrying with he three hundred persons to the deep. A nobleman, Geoffry L'Aigle, and Bertand, a butcher of Rouen, were alone sand by clinging to the topmast; but only one, the last named lived to recite the tale, as it was on a November night, and the nobleman perished from extreme cold. From that di king Henry was never seen to smile. The arrogance of the deceased prince had rendered him an object of dislike to the people, as men had learned to fear the despotism of his maturer years, he having been in the habit of saying, "that if he came to the crown, he would make them draw the plough like oxen." The prince had married, six months before his death, Matilda the daughter of Fulk of Anjou! and she was left a widow at the age of twelve years. She remained some time with the king, who behaved towards her with the affection of a parent; she then returned to her father, and ten years afterwards put on the veil in the convent of Fontevraud.

King Henry's consort, Matilda, though deprived of the society of her husband during the last twelve years of her life, passed her hours in the parade of royalty at Westminster. She was venerated by the people, and generally went by the name of Molde the Good,—her character for purity being said to have reached beyond the suspicions of prejudice. Her death in 1118, left the king at liberty to form another union, and he married, on the 2nd of February, 1121. Adelais, daughter of Geoffry, duke of Louvain, hoping thereby to defeat the expectation of his nephew, the son of his brother Robert; but not having any issue, he bequeathed the crown to his daughter Maud, widow of Henry IV. of Germany; at the same time obliging her to marry Geoffry, earl of Aniou. She objected to the alliance, which she considered a degradation, and most unwillingly yielded to her father's command. The marriage proved as she had anticipated. The earl, who was only sixteen, and of uncontrollable temper, endeavoured to subdue the spirit of his wife; they quarrelled, separated, but were again reunited, and had three sons. The earl's conduct, however, in claiming the possession of Normandy, gave the king great offence, so that this alliance was a subject of regret rather than of pleasure to the monarch.

The people had looked forward with delighted anticipations towards William of Normandy, whose chequered life formed a contrasted tissue of elevation and depression; but the public hope regarding him was shortly blighted, for it unfortunately happened that whilst he was exerting his courage to defend his father's territory, he received a pike-wound in the ball of his thumb, the dressing of which being neglected, it turned to a mortification, and caused the death of that prince in the monastery of St. Omer, in the year 1128. His captive father was placed by King Henry in the custody of Robert, earl of Gloucester, the king's natural son, and a great favourite with his father. Robert, having passed thirty-

eight years of his life in captivity, died at the castle of diff, at the advanced age of eighty years, in 1134. It been stated, by different historians, that the duke's eyes we put out by order of the king his brother; but, as contaporary writers of that age have not noticed the unnaturate, there is cause to hope it did not take place.

Henry did not survive his brother more than one year. It his return from hunting, near St. Denis le Froment, in Non mandy, he was seized with an acute fever, of which he de on the seventh day. His bowels were there taken out, a deposited in the church of St. Mary at Rouen, which he been founded by his mother. His body, having been balmed, (which ceremony, we are informed by Matthe Paris, was performed by cutting large gashes in the find and salting it) was then wrapped in ox-hides to avoid a stench, which was so infectious, that the physician mopened the head (which, from the small progress of science was then performed with a hatchet) died soon after; and was, by his own desire, conveyed to England, and intermin the abbey of Reading, which he had founded and not endowed.

With respect to Henry's character it is difficult to in a correct judgment. He preserved, throughout his rel a due regard for the administration of justice; and severity with which he punished flagrant crimes, can his subjects to believe he was the "lion of justice" scribed in the pretended prophecies of Merlin. In 11 the king found it necessary to punish the coiners. abused the license they received from the royal treasure enrich themselves. Another grievance redressed by He was the royal claim of purveyance. Whenever the moved from place to place, he was attended by a number prelates, barons, and officers, each of whom was followed by a long train of dependants, who were accustomed enter, without ceremony, the houses of the farmers and h bandmen; to live at free quarters, and, in the insolence superiority, to sell, burn, or waste, what they could not sume. A commission of judges was appointed to exam the attendants of the court, and the more guilty of them were punished by the loss of an eye, a hand, or a foot.

Lingard observes, (vol. ii. p. 194, note 54,) that it appears from the ancient writers that the punishment of mutilation was thought more useful than that of death. The sight of the latter was confined to few, and the impression was soon obliterated; but the culprit who suffered mutilation carried about with him the evidence of his punishment, and admonished all who saw him of the consequence of violating the laws. He relieved the tenants of the crown of the oppression exercised by the caprice of the royal officers who collected the rents in kind, by ordering a new survey to be made of the royal demesnes, and an equitable rent in money to be In short, it appears, from general accounts, that .bisq where the king's own interests were not concerned, he showed no reluctance to check or punish the exactions and rapacity of others; but, in the pursuit of his own aggrandizement, he scrupled not to trample on every consideration of justice. and to sport with the fortunes and the happiness of his subjects. The danegelt, at the rate of twelve pennies a hide, was continued during this reign.

As Henry's greatest aim was to augment his possessions on the continent, his success in the project was purchased at the expense of enormous sums, wrung from a suffering and oppressed people. If a man were without money he was cast into prison, or forced to flee from his country; his goods were sold, the doors of his house carried away, and the slender remains of his property exposed to the mercy of every passenger. If a man had money, he was harassed with threats of persecution for imaginary offences, till he had surrendered all that he possessed.

From ecclesiastical benefices, too, Henry, contrary to his solemn pledge, reaped great and shameful advantages. Not satisfied with levying fines for the transgressions committed by individuals of the clergy, he publicly sold to any, who were willing to buy, the license to transgress the canons. But the greatest act of injustice he committed arose in the unconquerable prejudice the king retained towards his Eng-

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lish subjects, which rendered him negligent of their well and ungrateful for their services; so that the natives debarred from the enjoyment of any place of emolument confidence. He seldom forgot an injury. Luke de Barn poet, who had fought against him, was made prisoned the close of the last war, and sentenced by the king to his eyes. Charles the Good, earl of Flanders, being pro sent, observed, "It was not the custom of civilized nation to inflict bodily punishment on knights who had drawn to sword in the service of their lord." "It is not," relie Henry, "the first time that he has been in arms against but, what is worse, he has made me the subject of sa and in his poems has held me up to the derision of my mies. From his example let other versifiers learn what may expect, if they offend the king of England." The on mandate was executed; and the troubadour, in a parous of agony, bursting from the hands of the officers, dashed of his brains against the wall.

The improvement of the nation in literature at that pen was greatly owing to the archbishops Lanfranc and Ansi both of whom, in their early years, had exercised the fession of teachers, and their precepts and examples kind an universal ardour for learning. The sciences which for the course of education were divided into two classes:trivium, comprising grammar, logic, and rhetoric; and quadrivium-music, arithmetic, geometry, and astrono To the praise of the popes it must be allowed, that, eve the middle ages, they were attentive to the interests of le ing; and, as the principal ecclesiastics were foreigners, imported the foreign course of studies. In 1110, the ol of Joffrid, abbot of Croyland, was to open a school in town of Cambridge. At first a large barn sufficed for purpose; in the second year the disciples became so me rous, that separate apartments were allotted to each ma The labours of the day were opened by brother Odo. taught the rules of grammar according to Priscian six, Terrie read lectures on the logic of Aristotle; at brother William expounded the rhetorical works of Ci

and Quintilian; and about twelve master Gilbert explained the difficult passages of the Holy Scripture. The two queens of Henry, Matilda and Alice, patronised the effusions of poesy; every poet hastened to the court of Matilda to read his verses and to partake of her bounty—and the name of Alice is mentioned with honour by the versifiers of that day—which also produced a new species of writing from the works of Geoffry of Monmouth, known by the appellation of Romance, because it was originally written in the Gallic idiom—an idiom corrupted from the ancient language of Rome.

Matthew Paris has given the following account of the founding the order of "Knights Templars of Jerusalem:"-"About the year 1118," says that author, "several noble knights formed themselves into a society, obliging themselves to celibacy, and to live after the manner of the regular ca-The founders of this order were Hugo de Pagan and Godfrey of Eadmer, who were so poor that they had but one buckler and one horse between them; in commemoration of which, the seal of the order has two knights mounted on one horse. As they had no dwelling-place, Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, assigned them an apartment in his own palace for their residence, and the canons of the Temple granted them an area near the place to erect their offices. The king himself, as well as the clergy, granted them a daily allowance for their table and clothing. The knights at first undertook to clear the roads towards Jerusalem from the banditti and robbers, with which they were infested; and in a short time the order was so respectable, that it spread all over Europe, and was embraced by persons of the most distinguished birth and abilities."

A most important controversy respecting the admission of papal legates was debated during a great portion of this reign. Much expostulation passed between the king and Paschal II., as well as with Calixtus; but Honorius II. gave a grant to William, archbishop of Canterbury, of the legantine authority in England and Scotland*. After the death of

[•] Wharton is severe on William for his acceptance of the legantine authority; but the prelate's objection to the admission of foreign legates in England was not because the church of Canterbury was independent, but because the authority of legate had.

Honorius, the succession to the papacy was disputed by two competitors, Innocent and Anaclet. Henry, in opposition to the advice of his bishops, by the counsel of the celebrated St. Bernard, espoused the cause of the former. Having met Innocent at Chartres, Henry fell at his feet, and promised him the obedience of a dutiful son.

CHAPTER XII.

STEPHEN.

THE interval between the death of Henry I., and the arrival of his successor in England, was one of rapine and confusion -it being then a received opinion, that there could be no violation of the king's peace until the new king had ascended the throne, and received the homage of his subjects. In consequence of this mischievous doctrine, the most lawless out-The violence of the people was rages were committed. chiefly directed to the destruction of the royal forests, which Henry's passion for the chase had led him to protect with the most vexatious tyranny. While Henry lived, the whole country was covered with beasts of chase; he had forbidden the barons to hunt on their own estates without his permission: "you might," writes a contemporary, "have seen them wandering in herds of a thousand together; within a few days after his death, you could not discover two heads of deer in a whole forest."

Before Matilda could arrive, to claim the crown which had been left her by her father, Stephen availed himself of the interest of his brother, the bishop of Winchester, to seize it for himself. These young men stood in the relationship of nephews to the deceased king; their mother, Adela, who married the count de Blois, being sister to Henry I. Stephen had himself sworn allegiance to Henry's daughter, Matilda;

been previously granted by the popes to the archbishop of Canterbury. William, in quality of metropolitan and legate, governed the English church during the remainder of Henry's reign.—Linoard, vol. ii, p. 205.

but to do away with any difficulty on that head, his steward, Hugh Bigod, swore that the late king, on his death-bed, had disinherited his daughter, and left the crown to his nephew Stephen, whose affability and benevolence had gained the love of all, and the people were inclined to favour his pretensions. The citizens of London proclaimed him king, and he was crowned on the 22nd of December, 1135, before the prelates and barons had assembled to signify their acquiescence. He had long been the most popular nobleman in England; the high he won by courtesy, the low by condescension, and he was beloved by all: so that, in a short time, they who at first were disposed to demur, had joined the torrent, and the succession of Stephen was admitted by the whole nation.

Meantime Matilda arrived in Normandy, on her way to England; unsuspicious of her cousin's designs, until informed of them by a letter from himself. David, her uncle, king of Scotland, was the first who drew his sword in her cause. This was the commencement of a war which continued only a short time; for Stephen having met him at Durham with a powerful army, peace was established between the two powers, and their future friendship was cemented by Henry, prince of Scotland, doing homage to Stephen. every petty chiestain in England erected his fortress, where, confident in his own strength, he provoked the hostility of his neighbours; the Welsh were in rebellion, and Normandy was thrown, by the opposite parties of Stephen and Matilda, into a state of intestine warfare. At this period of general tumult, David, in defiance of his engagements with Stephen, and urged it is supposed by Matilda and her friends, resumed hostilities against England. Twice in the spring of 1138 had he crossed the borders, and retired at the approach of the English army; but in these expeditions the Scots conducted themselves with such ferocious barbarity, that when they made a third invasion, and penetrated into Yorkshire, Thurstan, the aged archbishop, displayed the energy of a youthful warrior. Having assembled the northern barons at York, he exhorted them to fight "for their families, their country, and their God," and promised Heaven to those who

might fall in the cause. The standard used on that occasion gave the name to the battle. "It was," says Lingard, "the mast of a vessel fixed in the frame-work of a carriage, and it the centre of the cross, which rose from its summit, was find a silver box containing the sacrament; below this waved banners of the three patron saints, Peter, Wilfred, and John of Beverly. From its foot Walter Espee harangued his associates, and concluded with these words, addressed to William of Albemarle, 'I pledge thee my troth, either to conquer or die," which oath was repeated by every chieftain, will confidence of success. In that battle the Scots lost one half their army; but such havoc had the invaders committed, the when the papal legate, cardinal Alberic, travelled through the track they had pursued, he was so affected by the horror he witnessed that, on his knees, he conjured David to consent to a peace. The king complied only in part with the good monk's request, but in the following year, peace was concluded between the two monarchs. Whilst this barbarian warfare was transacted in the north, Stephen was detained in the south by the discontent of his barons, and the clergy, who were dissatisfied at his departure from the favourable promises he had made them at his coronation. During these disputes, Matilda landed on the coast of Suffolk. the dowager queen, Alice, she retired within the castle of Arundel, and England was again exposed to the horrors of civil war. At the battle of Lincoln, in 1141, Stephen became the prisoner of Matilda, who ordered him to be loaded with chains, and confined in Bristol castle. Matilda, his queen, affected a shew of resistance in the county of Kent. in hopes of obtaining time to negotiate for the liberty of her husband; but her feeble efforts were despised, and the empress, having allured Henry of Winchester to join her party. he met her on the open downs in that neighbourhood. It was the 2nd of March, "a day," says the historian, "dark and stormy, as if the elements portended the calamities which ensued." A treaty was then entered into, which stipulated that Henry, in the name of the church, should acknowledge her for "England's Lady," that she should allot to him

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the first place in her councils, and intrust to his disposal the meant abbacies and bishoprics. He then conducted Matilda a procession to the cathedral, and having mounted the steps of the altar, he solemnly blessed all who should bless and they her, and cursed all who should curse and resist her.

Matilda was pronounced queen in a synod of the clergy, divided into three classes, bishops, abbots, and archdeacons, to each of whom Henry had spoken separately and privately, and afterwards addressed them in a speech, setting forth, in terms of feigned sorrow, the misconduct of his brother Stephen, and exhorting them to acknowledge Matilda for their queen, endeavouring too, according to the manner of that age, to attribute Stephen's captivity to the special will of God.*.

No sooner had Matilda obtained the sanction of the clergy than, thinking her authority secure, she gave way to her haughty and vindictive temper. Bred up from her infancy in the principles of arbitrary power, she considered her subjects as born only for her service: she treated their reasonable demands with contempt; and defeated her hopes by the impolicy and arrogance of her conduct. So that although she had fixed upon the day of her coronation, the royalists assembled, and, by their numbers, forced her to quit London; but in the contest the city was plundered, and in part destroyed by fire. Forty churches, and two abbeys were burnt, and Stephen was released from his captivity; the earl of Gloucester, whom the royalists had taken prisoner, having been exchanged for him. At another synod convened at Westminster, bishop Henry spoke of the perfidy of Matilda, who had violated the promises she made on accepting his protection; and appeared as strenuous in his endeavours to convince the people it was the will of God to restore Stephen, as he had been, a few days before, to place Matilda on the throne. He excommunicated all who should erect new castles, or invade the

[•] From the doctrine of a superintending Providence the piety of our ancestors drew a mah, but very convenient, inference, that success is an indication of the divine will; said that of course to resist a victorious competitor, is to resist the judgment of heaven.—Lurgann, vol. ii. p. 250, 2002.

rights of the church, or offer violence to the poor and defen less. Meanwhile, Matilda, and the few friends who tinued attached to her cause, were besieged at Oxford, and strong was the garrison there, that the castle in which empress had retired held out ten weeks; the provisions be then all consumed, Matilda was once more forced to escal which she did on foot on the 20th of December, in a seven frost, and when the ground was covered with snow. Three knights accompanied her: the party, clothed in white the they might escape observation, issued from the portal at a early hour; the ice bore her across the Thames, she walls to Abingdon, and thence rode to Wallingford. During next four years the sovereignty of England was divided tween Stephen in the eastern part, and Matilda in the we ern. The king of Scotland held the three northern counties but in 1147, Matilda retired to Normandy to await the issu of the contest *. Stephen had alienated the attachment of his barons from his interest; and they, in defiance of his a thority, sought to revenge themselves for the acts of violen he had exercised. He also conducted himself so arbitrate towards the clergy, as to bring a sentence of interdict upon the royal demesnes; and he greatly feared the growing in ence of Henry, the empress Matilda's son, who at the age sixteen had received the honour of knighthood from his und David, king of Scotland, and had succeeded, by the do of his father, to the dukedom of Normandy, and the earld of Anjou, and had acquired additional possessions in II by a marriage with Eleanor of Poitout, the divorced que of France. The young duke came to England, and the ter of peace were adjusted. Stephen adopted him as his s

The oldest patent upon record for the creation of an earl, is that granted by tilda to Milo, earl of Hereford, dated July 25th, 1141. With the title, Milo obta the eastle and moat of Hereford, the services of three knights or barons, and of retainers, three manors from the royal demesnes, a forest, and a right to the penny of the rents of the city, and the third penny of the sums arising from the tried in the courts of the county, to be held by him [and his heirs of Matilda, and heirs in fee.—Lingard, vol. ii. p. 253.

[&]quot; The amorous intrigues of Eleanor at Antioch, during the crusade, alienates affection of her husband, the king of France, and they were, after their return, dire by mutual consent, on the plea of consanguinity."—Lineand, vol. ii. p. 263.

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appointed him his successor; for which Henry did him Liam L. he receiving at the same time the homage of Wiltian, king Stephen's son, and the fealty of the barons and officers, and of the clergy, by command of Stephen. All swore that, if either of the princes broke his engagements, they would desert him, and serve the cause of his rival. Soon After this perification, Stephen died at Canterbury, on the 25th of October, 1154, and was buried in the convent which he himself had founded at Feversham*.

CHARACTER OF STEPHEN.

WHEN Stephen was first placed on the English throne, his riends and his enemies agreed as to the general points in that he was prompt in decision, and bold in ncessions he made at his coronation, and Rerwards con Brmed, by asseverations, in an assembly of relates and barons at Oxford,—to remit the tax mentioned mder the name of Danegelt; to grant to every individual he liberty of hunting on his own lands; to restore the anpermit the barons to build such castles on ther own est etes as were necessary for their security; and not to retain in his hands the vacant bishoprics and abbeys, sended to secure to him the quiet possession of the throne; and the bar one promised to him their faithful services so long be should fulfil his engagements. But a conspiracy, instigated, ao doubt, by the friends of Matilda, excited the barons to engraft the feeling of jealousy into the mind of Stephen; and he persecuted the clergy, from a belief that they were his enemies, and the supporters of the claims of

Never had England endured such distress, since its invain by the Danes, as during the reign of Stephen. The ination of two competitors for the throne subjected the in-2.7 habitants to the caprices and the cruelties of their different

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^{. ,} Mile suppression of this abbey by Henry VIII., king Stephen's tomb was opened, as it is suppression out, and thrown into the sea, and the leaden coffin melted down. 173. Shirt, 298.

adherents: whenever one party inflicted an injury, the hastened to retaliate; and both gloried in the commiss barbarities which would have disgraced their Pagan fathers. Such was the general state of desolation, the contemporary writers state that villages and towns were destitute of inhabitants, and in many parts of Englaman might ride a whole day without discovering, on route, one human being.

Lingard (vol. ii. p. 247, note 25) takes occasion to the loss of the historian Orderic, whose age and infimobliged him to relinquish the pen soon after the batt Lincoln. Orderic was a native of Shropshire, and was in his sixth year, to the school of the priest Sewar Shrewsbury. At eleven he was committed to the cathe abbot of St. Evreux, in Normandy, who changed English name for that of Vitalis. In this monastery spent, as he himself writes, fifty-six happy years, respectively.

CHAPTER XIII.

HENRY II.

Paron to the conquest of England, the island of Great tain was distinct in its politics from the rest of the variation but the foreign dominions of the conqueror and his cessors connected it with France; and while the pretent of the pope and the emperor of Italy caused a continuater tercourse between that country and Germany, the monof France and England formed a separate interest in an part of Europe. It cannot, therefore, seem extraord that Louis VII., king of France, should have with with jealous apprehension the growing power of the of Plantagenet (so called from their crest—a sprig of bor plante-de-genet) on the accession of Henry II. throne of England. The eyes of all Europe were-fixed him as a prince who possessed many and vast advantages.

By the death of his father he inherited Touraine and Anjou; in right of his mother, Maine and Normandy; and with his consort, Eleanor, one-third of France. Being in Normandy at the time of Stephen's death, a continuance of stormy weather detained him at Barfleur, and delayed his arrival in England six weeks.

On the 19th of December, 1154, Henry was crowned, with his queen, at Westminster, from which period the principal object of his administration tended to repair the evils which civil war had occasioned in the preceding reign. The same month which witnessed the coronation of Henry, was sign nalized by the succession of Nicholas Breakspear to the throne of the Vatican. This prelate, the only Englishman who ever sat in the chair of St. Peter, was the son of Robert Chambers, an obscure clerk, and had been rejected by the abbot of St. Alban's, on the ground of his incapacity. Stung with that disgrace, and his father's reproaches, he travelled to Paris, his only resource on the way being the alms of the charitable: there he studied with applause, and, wandering into Provence, was admitted among the canons of St. Rufus. where he filled the office of prior and abbot. Though he was elected by the choice of his brethren, they became tired of his government, and twice complained to pope Eugenius. The latter conversed with Breakspear, appreciated his merit. and made him cardinal, bishop of Albano, and sent him as legate to the courts of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway; in which capacity he retained the esteem of Eugenius, and also of his successor Anastasius, at whose death he was elected to fill the papal chair, by the free suffrages of the cardinals and bishops, and with the applause of the clergy and the people. The English felt proud of this elevation of their countryman, and an embassy was sent by Henry to congratulate pope Adrian*, the name assumed by the new pontiff.

[•] Pope Adrian enjoyed the papal honours a few years only; he died in 1159, at which time the college of Cardinals was divided into two parties—one favoured Octavian, who assumed the name of Victor; and the other Orlando, under the title of Alexander'III. When the latter found it prudent to quit Italy, the kings of France and England, who had advocated his cause, solicited him to select a residence in their domitions; they met him at Couray sur Loire, and, on foot, each held the Vridle of Alexander's horse, and thus conducted him to his pavilion.

Contemporary writers gave another object to Henry for the embassy; namely, to solicit absolution for the king from the obligation of an oath, which had been exacted from him by his father Geoffry on his death-bed—not to suffer his body to be interred until he should fulfil the secret dispositions of his will. Upon opening the instrument, it was discovered that Anjou was bequeathed to Geoffry, the second son, in case of Henry succeeding to the crown of England. From this condition Henry received a dispensation, on the ground that he had sworn under force, and without a knowledge of the consequence of his oath.

Many of the useful measures adopted by Henry have been attributed to the advice of Thomas Becket*, who, for his knowledge of the civil and canon law, was highly appreciated and rewarded; and who, on Roger de Pont being promoted to the see of York, was made archdeacon of Canterbury; but the jealousy entertained by the prelate of York of Becket's abilities rendered him a great enemy. Nevertheless Becket's patron, the good old prelate Theobald, offered his archdeacon's services to the king, when his own age and infirmities caused his retirement from office; for he considered that Becket's knowledge might be useful in guiding the young and inexperienced monarch. Becket's abilities soon gained him the notice and friendship of Henry, who appointed him his chancellor, made him tutor to his son, and conferred on him many other substantial proofs of the royal favour; such as the wardenship of the tower of London, the custody of the castle of Berkhampstead, and the honour of Eye, with the services of one hundred and forty knights. The splendour of his course more than equalled the rapidity of his rise to favour; his table was open to every person who had business at court.-Lingard states (vol. ii. p. 282) that " it often happened that the number of uninvited guests could not be accommodated at table; and then Becket, that they might not soil their garments when they sate on the floor, was careful to have it daily covered with fresh straw." Nor did

[•] He was the son of Gilbert Becket, a citizen of London, who lived on the spot where St. Thomas's Hospital now stands. Thomas was bred to the law, and was soon distinguished for his extraordinary talents as a pleader.

the chancellor act only as councillor to the king, for he served, as occasion required, the office of a negotiator or a warrior. The same author has given the following account (vol. ii. p. 284) of the manner in which the chancellor performed his journey to Paris in 1158, when he accompanied the young prince Henry to be affianced to Margaret, the infant daughter of the French monarch:—

"Whenever he entered a town, the procession was led by two hundred and fifty boys, singing national airs: then came his hounds in couples; and these were succeeded by eight waggons, each drawn by five horses, and attended by five drivers in new frocks. Every waggon was covered with skins, and protected by two guards, and a fierce mastiff, either chained below or at liberty above. Two of the waggons were loaded with barrels of ale to be given to the populace; one carried the furniture of the chancellor's chapel, another of his bedchamber, a third of his kitchen, and a fourth his plate and wardrobe: the remaining two were appropriated to the use of his attendants. These were followed by twelve sumpter horses, on each of which rode a monkey, with the groom behind on his knees. Next came the esquires bearing the shields, and leading the chargers of their knights; then other esquires, gentlemen's sons, falconers, officers of the household, knights and clergymen, riding two and two; and last of all the chancellor himself, in familiar converse with a few friends. As he passed, the natives were heard to exclaim- What manner of man must the king of England be, when his chancellor travels in such state!"

When Theobald died in 1161, all eyes were turned towards Becket as the future archbishop of Canterbury. Henry, however, was in no hurry to part with the episcopal revenue, and kept his intention locked up within his own breast for thirteen months, and then told his chancellor to prepare himself for the dignity. Becket accepted it against his own judgment; he was ordained priest, and the next day was consecrated by Henry of Winchester, in the presence of the king and his courtiers: the latter witnessed the ceremony, to gratify the monarch. All seemed satisfied except Gilbert Foliot, bishop

of Hereford, who jeeringly said, "The king had wrought miracle at last; for he has changed a soldier into a priest, I layman into an archbishop."

From the period of Becket's promotion to the see of Caterbury, he renounced his luxurious habits, and practised daily course of secret mortifications. In lieu of the train knights and noblemen who formerly waited on him, he so lected a few virtuous companions from the most exemplary and learned of the clergy; his diet was abstemious; his charities were abundant; his time was divided into certain portions, allotted to prayer, and study, and the episcopal functions. His contemporaries attributed the change wa conscientious sense of duty; whilst modern writers have described Becket's conduct as the effect of a feigned piets, assumed to cover an immeasurable ambition. But if such was Becket's object, why did he resign the office of chancellor, and why did he discontinue to indulge the king's wishes, and his love of flattery? Whereas, in one year after his elevation, we are told that Henry's affection had ceased to shew itself for the primate; and that his courtiers, pleased with the change, did all in their power to misrepresent, the actions of the archbishop. Their persuasions were followed by the loss of the king's friendship to Becket, who soon experienced that the royal favour had turned to hatred and revence.

Amidst many discordant statements, it is difficult to fix on the original cause of dissension between the king and his archbishop, but that which brought them into immediate collision was a controversy respecting the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts.

From the commencement of Christianity, its professors had been exhorted to withdraw their differences from profant tribunals, and submit them to the authority of their bishops who, by the nature of their office, were bound to heal the wounds of dissension. By Constantine, and his successors, the bishops were appointed arbitrators within their dioceses. By the imperial law the laity were permitted, and by the canon law the clergy were compelled, to accept of the bishop as the judge of civil controversies. Constantine, with

s view to conceal the irregularities of men devoted to the offices of religion from the public eye, granted to each bishop the privilege of being tried by his colleagues.

Thus, on the continent, the spiritual courts were first established; but among the Anglo-Saxons the ecclesiastical and secular jurisdiction had been blended until the Norman conquest, when the two judicatures were distinctly separated, and "courts christian" were established. These tribunals were guided by the "episcopal laws," a system composed of the canons of councils, the decrees of popes, and the maxims of the more ancient fathers, and which, like other codes of law, in the course of centuries received numerous additions. The two compilations sanctioned by the charter of William I. were those collected by Isidore, and Burchard, bishop of Worms.

At the taking of Amalphi, by the Pisans, in 1137, an entire copy of a code from the pen of Ivo, bishop of Chartres, attracted the attention of the learned; and Gratian, a monk of Bologna, conceived the idea of compiling a digest of the canon law, on the model of the above work; and having incorporated with his labours the collections of former writers. gave his "decretum" to the public in 1151. From that moment the two codes, the civil and canon laws, were deemed the principal repositories of legal knowledge; and the study of each was supposed necessary to throw light on the other. Roger, a monk of Bee, had read lectures on the sister sciences in England, but he being made abbot in 1149, the English scholars, after the publication of the decretum, crowded to the professors in Bologna, and at their return practised in the episcopal courts, which gave to them a marked superiority over the secular courts. This created a spirit of rivalry between the two judicatures, which ripened into open hostility between the bishops and chief dignitaries of the church, who formed a party in opposition to the king and the barons; both equally interested, because both received a share of the fees, fines, and forfeitures, in their respective courts.

Archbishop Theobald had written on his death-bed to Henry, recommending to his protection the liberties of the church: for he had long seen the approach of the contest,

which commenced with an attack in that quarter in which the spiritual courts were most defenceless, namely, their ciminal jurisdiction. The canons excluded clergymen from judgments of blood: the severest punishments they could be flict were flagellation, fine, imprisonment, and degradation In the time of Theobald, Philip de Brois, a canon of Bedford was convicted before his bishop of manslaughter, and condemned to make compensation to the relatives of the deceased. Long afterwards Fitz-Peter, the king's justiciary, allel him a murderer in the open court of Dunstable, and Philip retorted in terms of insult and contempt; which being the ported to the king, he deemed himself injured in the person of his officer, and de Brois was indicted for his new offent, tried, condemned, and publicly whipped, deprived of the from of his benefice, and suspended from the exercise of his functions during two years. Henry swore by " God's eyes" that Brois had been favoured, and required the bishops to consent that, for the future, when a clergyman should be degraded for a public crime, he should be delivered to a lay officer, w be punished by the sentence of a lay tribunal. To this bishop objected. Henry relinquished that subject, and asked whether they would promise to observe the ancient custom of the realm? To which the archbishop with equal policy replied, he would observe them, "saving his order." The king said the bishops were leagued against him, and rushed from the apartment with a burst of fury. The archbishop of York Becket's former enemy, who had been gained by the king proposed to yield for the present, and resume the contest at some future period; but Becket, who spurned the temporizing policy of his rival, urged the necessity of perseverance At length, overcome by the representations of his friends, and the forged advice of the pontiff, he waited on the king, and offered to make the promise. He was graciously received, and a council was summoned at Clarendon, to bring the matter to an issue.

John of Oxford, a royal chaplain, was appointed president of that assembly, which was held 25th January, 1164. His angry tone revived the suspicions of the primate, who ex-

iressed a wish that the saving clause might still be admitted; pon which the king threatened Becket with exile or death, nd throwing open the door of the next apartment, a body of nights was discovered, with their garments tucked up, and heir swords drawn. The nobles and prelates besought the irchbishop to relent; two knights templars implored him, on heir knees, to prevent by his acquiescence the massacre of the ishops; and Becket, sacrificing his judgment to their enreaties, promised to observe "the customs," and required of he king to be informed what they were. To this period they vere unknown; but a committee of inquiry was instituted, which then produced the sixteen constitutions of Clarendon, et forth by Lingard (vol. ii. p. 309), and to which Henry remired that the bishops should affix their seals—but Becket eplied, he had done all that he promised, and would do nohing more. As he retired he thought of his conduct, his cruples returned, and when he reached Canterbury, he was n an agony of mind; he condemned his weakness, interlicted himself from the exercise of his functions, and wrote Alexander to state his conduct, and to solicit absolution from the pontiff. When the primate refused affixing his seal to the constitutions of Clarendon, Lingard observes, "this was not tergiversation of one seeking to effect his object by fraud and deception, but an effect produced from the oscillation of his mind, between his own judgment, and the opinion of others."

schemes, who had hoped much from the gratitude of the pontiff, and, in his anger, he vowed to be revenged on the archbishop. From that moment the ruin of Becket was determined. A succession of charges was prepared, and the primate was cited to appear in a great council at Northampton, at which John of Oxford presided.

The first charge was some act of contempt against the king, for which the court condemned the archbishop to forfeit his goods and chattels. The king next required him to refund the rents he had received as warden of Eye, and Berkhampstead; and to return the sum of five hundred pounds,

received as a gift, before the walls of Toulouse; out of the receipts from the vacant abbeys and bishoprics, which had fallen into Becket's hands during the chancellorship, a temand of forty-four thousand marks was accounted due to the crown. At this enormous demand the archbishop straighast; but soon recovering himself, he replied, that he must bound to answer; that at his consecration both primal Henry and the earl of Leicester, the justiciary, had publicly released him by the royal command from all similar during and that on so important a demand he had a right to require the advice of his fellow bishops. Those prelates who rejoyed the royal confidence exhorted him to resign: Henry Winchester alone had the courage to reprobate this interests advice. After much anxiety of thought, Becket resolved trust for protection to the sacredness of his character.

The next morning, having celebrated the mass of St. St. phen the first martyr, the archbishop proceeded in his poutfical robes to court. On his entrance the king with his barout retired to another apartment, and was there soon joined! the bishops. The council-chamber became a scene of and confusion. Becket remained with his clerks in the until the bishops came out, and Hilary of Chichester the addressed him, in their name. "You were our primate: by by opposing the royal customs, you have broken your on of fealty to the king. A perjured archbishop has no right " our obedience. From you then we appeal to the pope, and summon you to answer us before him." "I hear," " Becket's reply. The bishops having seated themselves along the hall, a solemn silence ensued. At length the door opend and the earl of Leicester, at the head of the barons, bade his hear his sentence, "My sentence," interrupted the arch bishop, " son and earl, hear me first. You know with while fidelity I served the king, how reluctantly, to please him, I accepted my present office, and in what manner I was declared by him free from all secular claims. For what happened before my consecration I ought not to answer, not will I. Know, moreover, that you are my children in God. Neither law nor reason allows you to judge your father; therefore decline your tribunal, and refer my quarrel to be decision of the pope. To him I appeal; and shall now, ander the protection of the catholic church, and the apolic see, depart."

The archbishop having received hints of his danger. scaped that night through the north gate of the town, stended by two clerks and a servant on foot. In this surney he assumed the name of "brother Christian," and Ber fifteen days of perils and adventures, landed at Gravemes in Flanders. This was in November, 1157, and about he same time that the inhabitants of Wales took up arms gainst England. Though the king's army in part subdued spirit of that rebellion, the Welsh continued their depreations until 1163, when an English army spread desolation wer the county of Carmarthen; and in the following year ze flame of insurrection raged throughout Wales. Henry estened from Normandy to chastise the rebels. A general extion was fought on the banks of the Cieroc. The king enmamped at the foot of the lofty mountain of Berwin, from whose rammit a cloud of natives were ready to pour down upon their enemies; but the elements terminated the war. Incessant storms of rain deluged the valley; and the army, abandoning its baggage, escaped to the city of Chester. To console himself for this disgrace, Henry exercised his vengeance on his numerous hostages, the children of the noblest families in Wales. At this time Henry was more fortunate in the cabinet than in the field; for by a successful negotiation of an "imaginary" marriage, between the infant daughter of Conan, earl of Richmond, and Geoffry his third son, he acquired the extensive province of Bretagne, and was appointed guardian to the two children during their minority.

Amidst these transactions, the eyes of the king often reverted to Becket, whose exile was followed by the confiscation of his estates, and a promiscuous sentence of banishment which involved all his connexions. The list was swelled with four hundred names, each of whom was compelled, by an oath, to visit the archbishop; so that crowds

besieged the door of his cell at Pontigny. Henry's resemble ment next pursued the Cistercians, to whom Pontigny be longed; and he threatened that if they continued to afford a asylum to the traitor, not one of their order should remain within his dominions. On quitting that retreat, the king France offered the city of Sens for the bishop's resident which he accepted; and had the satisfaction to learn that the wants of his friends, who were victims to the resentment of Henry, had been amply relieved by the benefaction of the king of France, the queen of Sicily, and the pope. At Sur. as at Pontigny, Becket is stated to have led the life of recluse, in abstaining from company and amusement: that he divided his time in the exercise of reading and praya But, as was natural in exile, Becket grew more firm adhering to the principle that caused his banishment; is opinions became tinged with enthusiasm, and he identified his cause with that of God, and the church: concession appeared to him like apostacy, and he resolved to sacrifice all in the contest. The violence of Henry strengthened these sentiments, and, at last, the boldness of Becket's or duct compelled the court of Rome to come forward to support. In June, 1166, Henry felt a secret dread of the spiritual arms of his victim: he issued strict orders to search all passengers from beyond the sea, and to seize all letter which should come from the pope, or the archbishop; and as the antipope was now dead, and Alexander had recovered the possession of Rome, Henry tried the influence of terror by threatening to espouse the cause of Guido of Crema in opposition to him, which step Henry afterwards denied to have taken. He next adopted the expedient of making appeal to the pope, by throwing himself and his cause on the equity of the pontiff; for Henry yet flattered himself that he should be able to extort the approbation of the "customs" from the gratitude of Alexander. But the firmness of the pope again defeated his plan: he therefore demanded, and obtained, legates to decide the controversy in France; and twice he condescended to receive Becket, and to confer with him; but at the second interview he evinced the insincerity f his intentions by refusing to the primate the "kiss of meace," that being considered the bond which usually sealed miniar reconciliations.

During the absence of the primate, Henry effected a releasure of policy which he had much at heart, namely, the -pronation of his son Henry, who was crowned at Westninster; on which occasion, Henry having condescended to erve up a dish to his new-crowned son, the archbishop comimented the youth on the great honour which he derived in meing served by so powerful a monarch: to which the Frince replied, " that it was no extraordinary condescension In the son of a count to wait on the son of a king." The peech was regarded as indicative that the prince possessed n arrogant and aspiring disposition. Roger, archbishop of ork, was induced to act in opposition to the order of poper Lexander, which forbade any to usurp an office which was exclusive privilege of the see of Canterbury, by a preanded letter from the pontiff, empowering the archbishop of Tork to crown the prince; which letter, Lingard declares, vol. ii. p. 333, note,) Mr. Berrington, in opposition to the opinion of lord Lyttleton, has proved to have been a Forgery. Why the wife of the prince was not crowned with her husband, we are not informed; but the omission gave umbrage to her father, the king of France, who, taking the insult to himself, invaded Normandy with his army. reconciliation, however, was soon effected between the two monarchs, and on that occasion a promise was given by Henry of an immediate reconciliation with Becket. "The interview," says Lingard, " took place in a meadow near Freitville, on the borders of Touraine, the 22nd of July, 1170. On the approach of the primate, Henry spurred his horse forward, and, as if no dissension had occurred between them, discoursed with him apart. In the course of that conversation the monarch exclaimed, ' As for the men who have betrayed you and me, I will make them such return as the deserts of traitors require.' At these words, Becket dismounted, and threw himself at the feet of his sovereign; who taking hold of the stirrup, insisted that he should remount, saying, 'In short, my lord archbishop, let us renew our ancient affection for each other; only shew me honour before those who now view our behaviour.' Then turning to his attendants, he said, 'I find the archbishop in the best disposition towards me: were I otherwise towards him, I should be the worst of men.' Becket followed the king, and, by the mouth of the archbishop of Sens, presented his petition, to which Henry assented, and again conversed with him; when they mutually arranged that as soon as the archbishop had settled his affairs in France, he should proceed to England, and remain some days at the court, to convince the public of the renewal and solidity of their friendship."

On Becket's arrival in England, his mind was perplexed with doubt, as, though the episcopal lands were restored, the rents had been previously levied, the corn and cattle had been carried off, and the buildings were left in a dilapidated state. However, he resolved to return to his diocese, and thus concluded a letter to the king. "It was my wish to have waited on you once more; but necessity compels me, in the lowly state to which I am reduced, to revisit my afflicted church. I go, Sir, with your permission, perhaps to perish for its security, unless you protect me. But whether I live or die, yours I am, and yours I shall ever be in the Lord. Whatever may befal me or mine, may the blessing of God rest on you, and your children."

Meanwhile pope Alexander, unacquainted that the reconciliation had taken place, issued letters of suspension against the bishops who had assisted at the young prince's coronation; and afterwards renewed the suspensions against Roger of York, Gilbert of London, and Jocelyn of Salisbury, as having been instrumental in the king's delay to fulfil the engagements entered into at the time of his reconciliation with the primate. For peace sake, it had been the bishop's intention to suppress these letters; but the prelates knowing he carried them about him, sent Ranulf de Brock, with a party of soldiers, to search Becket on his landing, and information of their intent having reached the prelate at Witsand, he de-

ntched a trusty messenger to deliver the letters. This was precipitate and unfortunate measure, and probably was a occasion of the catastrophe which followed, as they were Rivered publicly to the bishops; which so excited their erer, that they hastened to Normandy, to ask justice of mg Henry. The latter, on hearing their representation, Elaimed. "Of the cowards who eat my bread, is there not who will free me from this turbulent priest?" Upon mring which, four knights who were present, Reginald -surse, William Tracy, Hugh de Moreville, and Richard to, considering that passionate expression to be a royal. : nse, secretly proceeded to Saltwood, the residence of the is, to arrange their operations; and each bound himself eath, to carry off or murder Becket. For this purpose proceeded to the primate's house, abruptly entered his Extment, and began by intimidating him. Pretending to re received their commission from the king, they ordered to absolve the excommunicated prelates. He replied, Let he was willing to do so, (with the exception of the archwhop of York, whose case was reserved for the consideration f the pope,) on condition that they previously took the boustomed oath of submitting to the determination of the hurch. When the primate had entered his cathedral, during se hour of vespers, the same knights with twelve commions, in complete armour, entered; and Hugh of Horses ked, "Where is the traitor?" To this no answer was made: on which Fitzurse asked, "Where is the archbishop?" ed Becket replied, "Here I am, the archbishop, but no aitor. Reginald, I have granted thee many favours: what thy object now? If you seek my life, I command you, in e name of God, not to touch one of my people." He was en told he must instantly absolve the bishops: he answered. Till they offer satisfaction, I will not." "Then die!" claimed the assassin, aiming a blow at his head, which ore away his cap, and wounded him on the crown. The shop joined his hands, and bowed his head, saying, "In e name of Christ, and for the defence of his church, I am ady to die." A second stroke threw him on his knees; & third laid him on the floor, at the foot of St. Bennet's all The upper part of his skull was broken in pieces; and lie of Horsea, planting his foot on the archbishop's neck, the point of his sword drew out the brains, and struthem over the pavement. "Thus, on the 29th of December 1170, at the age of fifty-three, perished this extraordinary a martyr to what he deemed his duty, the preservation of the immunities of the church."—(Lingard, vol. ii. p. 3/8)

When the news of Becket's death reached Normand, he king was so strongly affected, as to decline company and food for several days. He knew not, says a contemport of that period, how to behave to the murderers. To pure them for that they had understood he wished them to be seemed ungenerous; to spare them was to confirm a general suspicion, that he had ordered the murder. Be therefore left them to the judgment of the spiritual common the consequence, the guilty knights travelled to Rome, and were enjoined by Alexander to make a pilgrimage to Jensesalem, where some, if not all of them, died.

The king, to avoid the immediate consequences which had cause to fear from the anger of Alexander, diverted to attention of his subjects with an expedition to Ireland, who was inhabited by a race of people of Celtic origin, who be been gradually reclaimed from ignorance and barbarism to the early introduction of Christian teachers, and more especially by the missionary labours of St. Patrick* in the first century: so that when science was almost extinguished to the continent, it still emitted a faint light from the remainshores of Erin. But the work of general civilization was a tarded by the influence of their natural institutions; and to more than two centuries, since the year 748, by the invasion of the Northmen. In battle they measured the valour of the combatants by their contempt for artificial assistance; when they saw the English knights cased in iron, pronounce

† Of Tanistry and Gavelkind, see explanation in Dr. Lingard's History, vo p. 350.

St. Patrick was born in a village between Dunbarton and Glasgow, which since assumed the name of Kill-Patrick. He commenced his labours in the year and, after a life of indefatigable exertion, died at an advanced age in 493.

n to be void of real courage. In temper, the natives are dered to have been irascible and inconstant; warmly attached
reir friends, faithless and vindictive towards their enemies.

proximity of Ireland to England had first suggested the
of conquest to the predecessors of Henry; and he, soon
his coronation, obtained a papal letter from pope Adrian
to whom he had justified his ambition in a proposed
dition to Ireland, by assuring his holiness that his prinmotive was to provide instruction for an ignorant people;
tirpate vice from the Lord's vineyard; and to extend to
ad the annual payment of Peter-pence. The sanction,
hypocritically obtained, lay unused until the murder of
et rendered it a convenient instrument.

the 12th November, 1170, Henry arrived in Dublin, e a wooden palace had been erected for his reception, as tose rather to allure, than to compel submission. This uct obtained him a nominal homage from all but the ses of Ulster; they refused to visit the king, or to acveledge his authority. However, in 1175, a treaty of tal concord" was concluded, by which it was decreed that leric, king of Connaught, should govern, under the English on, as long as he performed the services to which he was ad, and Roderic surrendered one of his sons as a hostage lenry for his fidelity.

enry having obtained a bull from the pontiff Alexander, feoff any of his sons with the lordships of Ireland, cond that dignity, in a council at Oxford, on John, his agest, then twelve years of age. Eight years after that, prince John went to Ireland; but, after an inglorious of nine months, he was recalled. Had the natives, at period, been united in their exertions for their country's are, they might, in all probability, have maintained its pendence; but they wasted their strength in domestic s, and in internal contests among their chieftains and other.

he manner in which Henry adjusted his religious quarrel the pope respecting Becket was this. Having received ourable report from the legates whom he had employed

to convey his communications to pope Alexander, the hastened from Wexford, where he then was, to Norm with a rapidity which caused Louis to say, "The k England neither rides nor sails; one moment transport from Ireland to England, another from England to Fa and in the cathedral of Avranches, before the legates, bis barons, and people, with his hand placed on the book of Gospels, solemnly swore, that he was innocent, both in " and deed, of the murder of the archbishop. But, as he can not deny having given occasion, by passionate expressions the project of the assassins, he consented to maintain, du twelve months, two hundred knights for the defence of Holy Land; to serve, if the pope required it, for three against the infidels, either in Palestine or Spain; to re the possessions belonging to the friends of the archbish and to abolish the customs hostile to the liberties of clergy, if any such customs had been introduced since accession. Immediately after pronouncing the oath, the is was solemnly absolved from all censures by the legales. sooner had this conciliation been effected, than the tranqui of Henry was disturbed by vexatious quarrels in his family, and which probably originated in his own dome conduct. Henry had for several years deserted his come bed for a succession of mistresses; and though in their years he had indulged his children to excess, that affect as they grew up, gradually changed into the tyranny despotic and jealous sovereign. His queen, Eleanor, knew herself to be an object of indifference to the king. couraged and fomented the discontent of her sons. Pr Henry, who had married Margaret, the daughter of L eloped to his father-in-law at Chartres. Richard and Ge followed the steps of their brother, and the queen also sconded. In this dilemma the offended monarch had reco to the bishops of Normandy, who, in an admonitory le advised the queen's return to her husband; but she pe vered in her refusal, and having put on the disguise of apparel, she was secured by the friends of her husband, was confined by him during the remainder of her life.

ices refused to obey their father's order to return, and the rt of France promised their aid to prince Henry in obtainpossession of England; whilst he, on his part, solemnly aged never to make peace with his father without the sent of the French king and the nobility of France. Philip. l of Flanders, accepted the earldom of Kent, and William. g of Scotland, received a grant of the county of Northumland, in return for their rebellious services; and many ons in the heart of Henry's dominions also promised their stance to the prince, which induced his royal father to re, by donations, a body of adventurers, composed of the se of all the nations of Europe, who were accustomed to their services, and were known by the appellation of Bra-A war ensued, which placed Henry's crown in iment danger; and being apprised that his presence was ssary in England, he directly sailed from Normandy, and is passage his mind was deeply affected by the rebellion is children, the perfidy of his barons, and the general bination of the neighbouring princes against him. Conring that such extraordinary events could be no other than effects of the divine wrath, he secretly determined to make Egrimage to the tomb of the martyr, for the name of the bishop had lately been enrolled in the catalogue of the is, and every part of Europe resounded with reports of miracles which were wrought at his shrine. On the 10th of being the day Henry landed, he proceeded, without waitto repose himself after his fatigue, from Southampton to-Ls Canterbury, and having rode all night with no other shment than bread and water, he descried the towers of stchurch in the morning. Instantly dismounting from orse, he put on the garb of a penitent, and walked baretowards the city; he entered the cathedral, descended into erypt, and threw himself at the foot of the tomb; while sishop of London ascended the pulpit, and addressed the tators: and it is further stated, that, on this occasion, the ks inflicted each three or five stripes on the shoulders of nonarch in their chapter-house.

The king's unexpected appearance in England disconthe plans of his foreign enemies. In the first week of turn, news arrived of the captivity of the king of Scoand in three weeks from the period of Henry's arrival, was universally restored; so that the army which had raised to oppose the English rebels, sailed from Ports to relieve Rouen, which was strongly besieged. It soon appeared before the town; the valour of his army sured victory, his rebellious sons submitted to his admitted and terms of reconciliation were soon and easily adju William, king of Scotland, submitted to kneel to Henry to acknowledge the crown of Scotland as a fief of the of England—this being the only condition on which it would consent to grant him his liberty.

Henry, during the latter years of his reign, when he subdued his enemies, and was at peace with his child devoted his attention to two very important objects,—the vestigation of the conduct of his officers, and the reion

the internal policy of his dominions.

The ancient custom of appealing in criminal cases judgment of God was practised in this reign. To the of fire and water was superadded, as in the time of William the trial by wager of battle. The proceedings of the varied according to the nature of the offence. In an of a trial by battle, the appellee, with the book of the pels in his right hand, and the right hand of his advers his left, took the following oath:-" Hear me, thou, I hold by the hand; I am not guilty of the felony with thou hast charged me, so help me God and his saints. this will I defend with my body against thee, as this shall award." Then exchanging hands, and taking the the appellant swore :- " Hear me, thou, whom I h the hand; thou art perjured, because thou art guilt help me God and his saints. And this will I prove thee with my body, as this court shall award." On pointed day the two combatants were led to battle. had his head, arms, and legs bare, was protected by a

t of leather, and employed, as a weapon, a wooden one ell in length, and turned up at the end. If the llee was unwilling to fight, or in the course of the day unable to continue the combat, he was immediately jed, or condemned to forfeit his property, and lose his ibers. If he slew the appellant, or forced him to call "craven," or protracted the fight till the appearance of tars in the evening, he was acquitted. His adversary, survived the combat, was fined sixty shillings, was ded infamous, and stripped of all the privileges of a free. In the court of chivalry the proceedings were dift. Of the latter there is an interesting description in farm's History, vol. ii. p. 416.

wards the close of the eleventh century, the distresses e Christians in Palestine interested the whole of Europe. ording to the terms entered into by the king of Eng-, at the period of his reconciliation with the see of Rome, as expected to visit the Holy Land; but the apprehenof what might occur to lessen his power at home, in the absence such an expedition would require, deterred the arch from performing that part of his promise; and n personally asked for his assistance by queen Sybilla and earl of Tripoli, Henry promised to send a subsidy of fifty sand marks, in lieu of his personal services. But, on 29th of September, 1187, ninety-six years after its reducby the first crusaders. Jerusalem was again surrendered the hands of the Mussulmans. In the following spring, ry took the cross; and there is little doubt but that he d have undertaken the expedition but for his own doic troubles, as his sons still continued disobedient to his mands, and were at open war with each other: for, gh they sometimes returned, with professions of regret, eir duty, they again unfurled the standard of rebellion. s were laid against the life of the king. In vain did the ops of Normandy, by command of the pope, excommute the authors and the fomenters of this warfare; the hers persevered in their hostility, they supported their followers with the plunder of the husbandmen churches, and fixed the festival of Whit-Monday, I give battle to their father. Before the arrival of the anxiety of mind threw his eldest son Henry into a which baffled the skill of his physicians. On learn danger, the prince despatched a messenger to imple father's forgiveness, and to solicit, as a last request his royal parent would visit his dying and sorrowful sor king was inclined to go, but was prevented by the ability his friends, who feared there might be some new plot at him. He sent to the prince, by the archbishop of Bourda a ring from his finger as a token of his love and forging The prince pressed it to his lips. His death, on the light June, dissolved the confederacy. Geoffry also died a court of France, in the year 1186.

But now disputes arose between prince Richard and father concerning Adelais, the daughter of Louis of Pro who had been betrothed to Richard, and intrusted for to the care of king Henry. When her brother, Phil France, demanded his sister for Richard, the king wo give her up, but kept her in his custody; so that it was certain, whether the princess were the wife of the son, " mistress of the father. The disputes concerning Adelas up hostilities between Henry and Philip. At length the kings met in a plain near Tours, for the purpose of adju a peace. The agitated and nervous state of Henry him to concede to the demands of his enemies; he first learnt that his favourite son, John, was also le against him, and the news broke his heart: he sank! deep melancholy, which was followed by a fever, paroxysms of which he called down the vengeance of upon his children. On the seventh day of his illness a vanished, and he died on the 6th of July. His de was attended by Geoffry, his chancellor, who was vourite, and the youngest of his sons by his m Rosamond, daughter of Walter Clifford, a baron of fordshire. The king thanked Geoffry for his affecti e him, with his blessing, a ring; at the same time exsing his wish, that he might be promoted to the archopric of York.

ing Henry was buried with little pomp in the convent of tevraud, in the presence of his son Richard, and a few; hts and barons. His will was made seven years before cleath, and regards only his personal estate; for the n lands would descend to his successor.

whis queen, Eleanor, Henry had five sons, of whom two, Richard and John, survived their father. He had three daughters. Matilda, married to Henry the Lion. of Saxony, &c., whose arrogance united the whole emengainst him; and by a judicial sentence he was despoiled I but his wife's dower, which were the cities of Brunsand Lunenburgh, and was compelled to banish him-From Germany for three years. During their exile Mabore him a son, William, from whom is descended the rious family which now fills the imperial throne of Great in. Eleanor, who was married in her fourteenth year Phonso, the good king of Castile; and Joan, who, at ee of eleven, married William II., king of Sicily. Her and settled upon her a princely dower, and made a some bequest to her father: the latter died three months e him, but his successor, Richard, received from the essor of William twenty thousand ounces of gold as an Talent for the bequest.

the children of Eleanor. Rosamond were educated the children of Eleanor. Rosamond retired to the conof Godstow, where she endeavoured to expiate the scanof her former incontinence. Henry, for her sake, made
ty presents to the nuns; and they, from gratitude, buried
in their choir, and hung a pall of silk over her tomb,
ch they surrounded with lamps and tapers. But Hugh,
top of London, observed that religion makes no distincto between the mistress of a king and the mistress of any
er person; and by his order the body was removed, and
rred in the common cemetery.

CHARACTER OF HENRY II.

HENRY II. was eloquent, affable, and facetious-unit the dignity of a prince the manners of a gentlem these fascinations concealed a heart that could descen basest artifices, and sport with its own honour and He endeavoured to justify his habits of duplicity by s " It was better to repent of words than of facts; tobe of falsehood, than to fail in a favourite pursuit." Pride sion, caution, and duplicity, formed the traits of his racter; and the chief policy of his government was He was jealous of every species of authority which dis emanate from himself; and in order to depress the not he abridged their rights, divided their possessions, and ried their heiresses to men of inferior rank: his temper and brooked contradiction, and his passion was the ming of madman. In appearance, Henry's countenance was majes but his person was disfigured by an unseemly protaberast the abdomen, which he sought to contract by exercis sobriety. Few persons have equalled him in abstemics none in activity; no fatigue subdued his restlessness; De hour that could be spared from important matters was a to hunting; and, after the exercise of the chase, he freque kept his attendants walking and standing, during the mainder of the day, until the hour of repose.

CHAPTER XIV.

RICHARD I.

THOUGH Richard had shewn strong marks of regret loss of his father, he had thirsted too much for the of of regal power, and the glory of independent domini to feel elated at his accession to the throne of Englan remained a few weeks on the continent, to take form session of his foreign dominions, and to settle cert ferences between the crowns of France and England. Meantime he had sent immediate orders for the liberation of his
mother Eleanor, whom he appointed regent of the kingdom
until his arrival in England. On the 13th of August, 1189,
e landed at Portsmouth; the chief of the nobility met their
was crowned with great pomp and magnificence at Westster*. The day was, however, disgraced by an inhuman
sacre of the Jews.

de Jews at that period were, in every Christian country, incipal, if not the sole, bankers. Their profits were ous; and, as no law existed to regulate the interest of their demands rose in proportion to the wants of the wers. hey had been protected under the late reign by y; but as Philip, the French king, had banished them France, on his accession, they feared that similar mea might be adopted by Richard; to obviate which, the had hastened from every country to London with vahe presents to the king. Richard had issued a proclamaforbidding all Jews to enter the church during the coroservice, or to come into the place while his majesty hould be at dinner; but some of these unfortunate people mixed with the crowd at the coronation, and entered the make. Their appearance there excited popular anger, and a report having spread that the king had given a general permission to kill them, under this notion every Jew who had the temerity to appear in the street was murdered, and every house belonging to that people was set on fire. It was in rain that Richard despatched the justiciary with several knights to disperse the rioters; the work of murder continued till the next morning. It was equally vain that, by proclamation, he took the Jews under his protection; the example of the capital was followed in all the principal towns in England; everywhere they were plundered and murdered.

After the fatal battle of Tiberias, Acre, Sidon, Ascalon, Jerusalem had fallen into the hands of Saladin, the vic-

For an account of the coronation, see Lingard's Hist, of England, vol. ii. p. 441.

torious soldan of Aleppo and Egypt. Tyre alone rer in the possession of the Christians; and if the strugg still faintly maintained, it was owing to the exertions of sands from Europe, whose misguided zeal led them and to perish under the walls of Acre. The considerations would have deterred a more prudent monarch, served on inflame the ambition of Richard. He had taken the during the reign of his father; and now an expedition to Holy Land offered such attractions to his adventurous sy that he spent the four months he passed in England in paring for the crusade, and chiefly in raising money on to that were dishonourable to himself, and injurious to his cessors. The demesne lands, and the offices belonging the crown, were exposed to public sale: he received b from Geoffry, the natural son of Henry, who, accordin the wish of his father, was now archbishop of York: from the bishop of Durham, and the king of Scotlanwhom he resigned the right of superiority over the cro Scotland, which had been acquired by Henry: he then to Normandy, to fill his coffers there by similar expediently The kings of England and France had engaged to make sale pilgrimage to the Holy Land together, and an army of most than a hundred thousand men, in the double character warriors and pilgrims, had assembled to march under these banners. Previous to Richard's departure from England, he added to his mother's dower the lands that had been settled on Matilda, queen of the first Henry, and Alice, the relievile of Stephen; and in order to attach his brother John to his interests, he gave him about one-third of his kingdom * Om O the 23rd of September, in the year 1190, both the kines

The laws published by Richard on this occasion, for the government of the mark the character both of the man and the times. In cases of murder, the ho to be tied to the dead body, and, if the crime was committed on shipboard, to with it into the sea; if on shore, to be buried with it in the same grave. In que whoever drew a knife, or struck another, so as to draw blood, was to be three mersed in the sea. To restrain abuse it was ordered, that for every contume expression a fine should be imposed of one ounce of silver. Convicted thieves we have their heads shaved, tarred, and feathered, and to be put on shore in that cadition.

fad reached the port of Messina in safety. Philip oc a house in the suburbs, which was surrounded with Vards.

Tancred, the reigning king of Sicily, was a fortuna venturer, who had seized the crown at the death of Willis who was king of Sicily, and the husband of Joan, Ric sister; but, as he had detained Joan's dower, and refu pay the legacies left by William to her father Henry, ! cause to fear the approach of the English monarch result of their meeting was an action between Ric party and the citizens of Messina, in which the house plundered, the Sicilian galleys burnt, and the women off to the camp. In satisfaction of every claim, To paid to Richard forty thousand ounces of gold; and, Received granted to him the possession of Apul betrothed his nephew Arthur, whom R declared should be his heir, in case he died without iss daughter of Tancred, with a promise, in ca were not completed, to repay one half the i he had received; and both parties invited the pope to e the observance of the treaty.

was profuse in the disposal of money; at (was profuse in the disposal of money; at C to each, after dinner, a present proportion Baria, daughter of the king of Navarre, to be the Richard, gave rise to a quarrel on the part of I the sisted on the English monarch fulfilling his en with Adelais, his sister; but Richard declared he of marry a woman whom he could prove to have been tress of his father, and he married Berengaria, wh nointed and crowned on her bridal day by the bish Erroux.

Richard's conduct displeased the allies, who were w he presence at Acre, which place having stood a sie hore than two years under the direction of Saladin, so dered to the valour of the crusaders on the 10th of 1191, a few days after the arrival of Richard, who, he labouring under the weakness of an intermittent fever, carried, in the intervals between the fits, to the trenches superintended the operations of his army. After numeroposals, made and rejected by each party, a negotiatook place, in which it was agreed that Saladin should render the city, and that the Turks, as a ransom fit the lives, should restore the holy cross, and set a lively fifteen hundred captives. The term of forty day we assigned for the performance of the conditions, and thousands of hostages were detained in the fortress.

The nations of Christendom received intelligence of conquest as a prelude to the delivery of Jerusalem; but general joy was damped on learning that the king of In was about to return home. In justification of this set was stated that his health was deeply impaired by six but, in fact, the two kings had never cordially co-out together; and the temper of Richard was so aspining so passionate, that all were obliged to submit to his o or come to open hostilities; so that the friends of contended he would advance the cause of the crus withdrawing from the army. He therefore quitted Ac left ten thousand of his followers under the command vassal, the duke of Burgundy. The forty days had expired which had been fixed for the performance treaty between Saladin and Richard, when the sold fused, under different pretexts, to perform his part of king Richard declared that the hostages should pay feit of his perfidy with their lives. In these wars party had been sparing of the blood of their captiv that occasion the hostages were led to the summit of and two thousand seven hundred infidels were bute and at the same time almost an equal number, th fallen to the lot of the king of France, were massacree walls of Acre by the duke of Burgundy: the dead bodi left to the insults of the soldiers, who cut them open cover the precious stones which it was believed th swallowed; the gall they preserved for medicinal pur Liter that bloody deed Richard conducted his army, now need to thirty thousand men, from Acre to Jaffa, near ch place he obtained a complete victory over Saladin. To recover Jerusalem from the infidels was the professed ≥ct of the crusaders, and to keep this impression fresh in memory, these words, "the holy sepulchre," were promed thrice every evening by a herald throughout the On arriving at Bethania, which was within a short mance of Jerusalem, Richard conceived a doubtful opinion **ecting** the success of the enterprise: these sentiments, ever, he carefully concealed from his associates, and in etters to Europe earnestly intreated fresh supplies of men money. It was the end of the year 1192 that a scarcity rovisions was felt, that sickness spread through all the ks, and many in despair abandoned the expedition. Prior this period, Richard had delayed the march to satisfy his Price and his private pleasures: now he saw the necessity going back to Jaffa, or of instantly making an attempt, the ccess of which, from his reduced numbers, was hopeless; d, with more than his usual prudence, he bent his march ick to the coast, having first published, by proclamation. s intention to remain another year in Palestine—for he yes ped to share the glory of liberating the holy city.

A want of union in opinion had hitherto operated against success of the crusaders; as personal interests, or national dousy, continually threw some obstacle in the way of neral co-operation. But in the following summer all smed unanimous, and demanded, with one voice, to march ainst Jerusalem, and Richard returned for that purpose, was supposed, with alacrity to Bethania. rusalem before his eyes, he recommended the selection of enty councillors, who should decide upon oath, whether it re better to besiege that capital, or Cairo, the capital of typt, from whence Saladin drew his supplies. onishment of all they preferred the latter; so that the king I them back to Acre, notwithstanding the remonstrances of ; followers. The duke of Burgundy composed a song, in nich he severely censured this conduct in the British

and the latter, in revenge, wrote a satire on the personal ties of his opponent. On the retreat of the Christians, Salair poured his army into the town of Jaffa, upon which Richm hastened to its succour, and by his prodigies of valour gains' unprecedented renown. Having raised the siege, his estions brought on a fever, and he condescended to ask for armistice, which was agreed upon for three years. At this treaty Saladin insisted on the destruction of Ascalon; and in return, the granted to the pilgrims free access to the body sepulchre: thus terminated the crusade. Previous to be return to Europe, Richard, on taking a last view of the show of Asia, on the 9th of October, 1193, exclaimed, "Ma holy land, I commend thee to the care of the Almighty! In he grant me life to return and rescue thee from the your the infidels!"

Richard's exploits in Palestine had endeared him to the Chris tians, and extorted the admiration of the infidels. But the influence which they had on the issue of the expedition, will justify a doubt whether he possessed the requisites and talents of general. It was Richard's intention, by disguising himsela the garb of a pilgrim, to have crossed the continent with being known, for he was aware that the king of France confederated with his brother John to dispossess him of dominions; that Henry, the emperor of Germany, and right ful heir to Sicily, was irritated by his league with Tancrel and that many powerful relatives of Conrad, the rival of Go de Lusignan, attributed the murder of that nobleman, in Il streets of Tyre, to his policy; but all his precaution could no prevent his being driven by a storm on the coast of Istria. Will great difficulty the king, with one knight and a boy, reached the suburbs of Vienna; and being in a very weak stall, after travelling three days and nights without food, he see the boy to purchase provisions in the market. His money excited curiosity; and to the questions asked, this boy replied that his master was a rich merchant who would arrive in that days. But on going a second time to the market the boy was seized and put to the torture, and at length revealed the name and the retreat of Richard. When the king saw him-

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he chieftain, who immediately appeared in Leopold, duke of Lustria, the brother-in-law of Isaac, the former emperor of Typrus, whom [Richard had imprisoned at the reduction of hat island, and who died in captivity the following year. Leopold deemed it just to revenge Isaac's wrongs, and committed the care of the monarch to baron Hadmar, to be confined in the castle of Tyernsteign.

Whilst these things were passing abroad, Richard's English mbjects were suffering from the rapacity of his ministers, and he ambitious views of his brother John. At his departure for Palestine the king had intrusted the reins of government William de Longchamp, a Norman of obscure birth, on whom preferments poured quickly. He was first made chansellor, then bishop of Ely, afterwards grand justiciary, and astly, papal legate in England and Scotland; which placed him, during the king's absence, at the head of the church and This two-fold authority he axercised in the most despotic manner. There was one person, however, whom he chared: this was the king's brother, a man equally unprincipled, and equally ambitious as himself; and who, calculating that Richard might probably share the destiny of former crusaders. (very few of whom had ever returned from the expedition,) had determined to seize the sceptre, though he knew that Arthur, the son of his deceased brother, Geoffry, had a prior claim; but heirship had been disregarded on former occasions, and he hoped it would be overlooked at the death of Richard. But the king, in the treaty he had made with Tanered, had agreed that his daughter should marry his nephew Arthur; and in his letters to the pope, had declared Arthur the heir apparent to the throne: John, therefore, finding that Longchamp favoured the monarch's views, contrived a plot to displace the minister, for he considered him the only obstacle in the way of his ambition. A quarrel had arisen between the king and Geoffry, who had been chosen to the archiepiscopal see of York. Richard forbade his consecration, and compelled kim by an oath to reside on the continent; but in defiance of that prohibition, Geoffry had been consecrated at Tours, and came to England to take possession of his church. On this occasion John, who had hitherto considered Geoffry as his enemy, espoused his cause, and by intrigue so misrepresented the actions of the minister, as to cause his removal; and Longchamp retired into Normandy.

England might be considered in a state of civil dissension, when the news arrived of Richard having set out on his return from Acre, and a general impatience prevailed to behold this champion of the cross. After repeated disappointments, all Europe was electrified at learning that Henry VI., of Germany, had purchased the royal captive from Leopold, of Austria, for the sum of 60,000l., and that he was confined in one of the castles of the Tyrol. Whilst his English subjects were using every exertion to procure the liberty of their sovereign, John repaired to Paris, and leagued with Philip, king of France, in the invasion of Normandy. Several fortresses yielded; but Rouen was saved by the exertion of the earl of Essex.

Longchamp, who still remained in exile, was the first to discover the retreat of his royal master. By repeated solicitations he obtained permission to conduct the king to the diet at Hagenau, where he answered the accusations alleged against him, in so manly and persuasive a manner, that the cold-hearted emperor ordered his chains to be struck off; shewed him the respect due to a crowned head; and consented to treat about the amount of his ransom.

The negotiation for procuring the king's liberty occupied four months. At the end of that time one hundred thousand marks was fixed upon as the price to be paid: the other conditions were, that Richard should restore Isaac, the late emperor of Cyprus, to his liberty, but not to his dominions; and to deliver Isaac's captive daughter to her uncle, the duke of Austria. Henry, in return, promised to set the king at liberty on receipt of the money; to aid him against all his enemies; and to invest him with the feudal sovereignty of Provence. Richard, with a view to bind the emperor more firmly to his interest, adopted the strange expedient advised by his mother, which was, by the delivery of the cap from

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his head to resign his crown into the hands of the emperor, who restored it to him again, to be held as a fief of the empire, with the obligation of a yearly payment of five thousand pounds. But John and the French king offered a more tempting bait to keep Richard in captivity. This, however, the German princes and barons, who were security for Richard's freedom, would not agree to. The money was raised by a tax upon the people; and such was the poverty of the nation, or the peculation of the agents employed, that a second, and even a third collection was obliged to be levied on the impoverished and murmuring inhabitants. At length, after an absence of four years from his kingdom, Richard landed at Sandwich, on the 13th of March, 1194. Richard stayed in England only a sufficient time to drain more effectually the nearly exhausted sources of his subjects, when he hastened to France to chastise the perfidy of the French monarch. The spirit of revenge and retaliation caused the two nations to be involved in petty wars during a term of six years; and though England, during that time, was spared the ravages, it was compelled to support the expenses of the war: so that from the various requisitions imposed upon her, a contemporary writer says, she was reduced to poverty from one sea to the other.

It was the fate of Richard to perish in a quarrel with the viscount of Limoges, with whom the king was dissatisfied, because the baron refused to give to him the whole of a treasure found on his estate of Vidomar. As Richard was going round the walls with Marchadee, on the 26th March, 1199, he was wounded in the shoulder by the archer Gourdon. An unskilful surgeon drew out the head of the arrow, but mortification ensued. On learning his danger, Richard ordered the man to be brought into his presence, and asked him, "What injury did I ever do to thee, that thou shouldst kill me?" The soldier replied, "My father and two brothers fell by your sword; and you intended to have hanged me. You may now satiate your revenge. I should cheerfully suffer all the torments that can be inflicted, were I but sure of having delivered the world of a tyrant, who

drenched it with blood and carnage." This spirited struck Richard with remorse, and he ordered Bertram at liberty, with one hundred shillings to take him hom chadee secretly detained the youth, and had him flay Richard died on the 6th of April, in the 42nd yea age; his body was buried at Fontevrault, at the fee father: his lion-heart (the epithet had formerly flatten he bequeathed to the citizens of Rouen, in return he loyal attachment to him.

CHARACTER OF RICHARD I.

THE first and the last act of Richard's kingly life are sively those which claim the reader's admiration: into tears on beholding the dead body of his father indicated a sentiment of natural affection; and he Gourdon, who was his murderer; and exhibited spirit of Christian charity, in its widest extent, by then good for evil-since to the noble act of forgiven added that of benevolent aid, by ordering that the youth should have sufficient money to convey hir The intervening period of his reign contains a victories purchased by the impoverishment of his and of laurels steeped in blood. To a degree of r strength which falls to the lot of few, Richard added incapable of fear. So highly did he tower as a warri for a century after his death, the Saracen cavalier e his name to chide his horse, and the Saracen used it to terrify their children: yet he stooped to degrading meanness to procure money; and allowed petuosity of his passions to hurry him into acts of injustice. To his wife he was as faithless as he h rebellious to his father. The only benefits which the nation received from his government were two les charters: by one was established an uniformity of and measures throughout the realm; by the other I gated the severity of the law of wrecks.

During a period of great discontent, when vexation

actions were made to carry on the war with France, a factious demagogue, William Fitz-Osbert, equally distinguished for the length of his beard and the power of his eloquence, probesed himself "the advocate of the people;" and contended that the rich and powerful had contrived means to shift the hearden from their own shoulders, to impose it on those who were least able to bear it. He crossed the sea to lay his sentiments before the king; and, on his return to London, at St. Paul's cross, threw the whole city into a ferment by his harangues. Fifty-two thousand persons bound themselves to obey him as their "advocate." Archbishop Hubert, from a sense of duty, opposed Fitz-Osbert, and by his mild and persuasive **Eloquence** induced the people to enter into securities to keep the king's peace. With an axe Fitz-Osbert clove the head of the officer sent to arrest him; and fleeing to the church of St. Mary of Arches, fortified the tower against his opponents. On the fourth day, by design or accident, the church was set on fire; and as Fitz-Osbert attempted to escape, he was stabbed by the son of the officer he had murdered. The wound did not produce instant death: he was hastily tried, condemned, dragged at the tail of a horse to the elms at Tyburn, and there hanged in chains, with nine of his followers. His fiends pronounced him a martyr; but in a few weeks his name and his doctrines were forgotten.

CHAPTER XV.

JOHN.

RICHARD left no issue by his queen Berengaria. He had one natural son, Philip, of whom we hear no more than that he avenged his father's death, by the murder of Vidomar. According to the right of hereditary succession, the crown of England should have descended to Arthur, the son of Geoffry, who was John's elder brother, and whom Richard had, on many occasions, declared should be his heir; but he seems

to have forgotten his nephew's claim, as, on his death-bed, he bequeathed the crown to John, the youngest son of Henry II. Constantia, Arthur's mother, had done much towards alienating the affection of Richard from her son. Her imprudence had caused her to be divorced from her second husband, Ralph, earl of Chester; and she had confided the interests of her son to the protection of the French monarch. In England the people were much divided between the rival claims of John and Arthur; but on John's promise to respect the rights of individuals, he was proclaimed king. Meantime, Philip, the French monarch, having Arthur in his possession, determined to fight his own battles, while he pretended to support the interests of the orphan, and for that purpose he traversed Normandy; for his ambition led him to aim at the conquest of the provinces which the English monarch possessed in France. A war was the result, which, at the request of cardinal Peter, of Capua, was suspended by an armistice, and finally settled in a treaty of peace, followed by a compromise, which gave to the son of Philip many valuable fiefs, and procured to John the homage of Arthur for the duchy of Bretagne, and the entire sacrifice of his interests. In the same year John published a law at Hastings, asserting his dominion over the British seas, and ordering all foreign ships to strike their topsails to his flag.

One of the first acts of John's sovereignty was to obtain a divorce (on the usual plea of consanguinity) from his wife, Hadwisa, whom he had married twelve years before, and to form another matrimonial connexion. With this intent he sent ambassadors to Lisbon, to demand the princess of Portugal; but before he could receive an answer, having accidentally met Isabella, daughter to Aymor, count of Angouleme, he was captivated with her beauty. She had been publicly promised, and privately espoused, to Hugh, count of La Marche; but the glare of a crown seduced the faith of the father and the daughter; and John conducted Isabella as his bride to England, and was crowned with her at Westminster, by the primate, on the 8th of October, 1200. The count La Marche appealed to the justice of Philip of France;

, glad of an excuse to humble his powerful rival, ield against John. The consequence of this war hn lost the best portion of the part he had pos-French territories. During that contest, howhis rival nephew prisoner, and confined him in a he new tower of the castle of Rouen, from which iddenly disappeared a few weeks after. rved by his uncle respecting the circumstance ed a proof that the young prince was murdered; ated the manner of his death to the dagger of he whispers of suspicion were soon converted ral belief of the king's guilt. The Bretons evenged on the murderer of Arthur, and prottle the succession to the dukedom, which was Alice, daughter of Constantia and Guy de Thoshe had married after the death of her first husy. Philip summoned John to prove his innocence ench peers; John refused; and the court progment as follows: that "Whereas John, duke of in violatior of his oath to Philip, his lord, had e son of his elder brother, a homager of the ance, and near kinsman to the king, and perpeime within the signiory of France, he was found my and treason, and was therefore adjudged to : lands which he held by homage."

he sister of Arthur, was sent to England, and lose confinement, lest by marrying some foreign light have raised up a new competitor to the here-of her father.

the sentence pronounced against John, Philip, stons, entered his dominions, and the king, as if shew his face, left the direction of a powerful general, the earl of Pembroke. On that occasion as re-annexed to the French crown, after a sepahundred and ninety-two years.

t engaged in a contest with the Roman pontiff, he right claimed by the chapter to choose their the guaranteed by the king's oath at the coronac-

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tion to maintain the immunities of the church, and white monarch viewed with jealousy, and invaded without different the bishoprics offered the cheapest means of removes the clergymen, and as the baronies annexed to them their possessors considerable influence in the state, his terest demanded that they should not be bestowed an enemies. Hence, while the king permitted the form of the control of the control

own power.

The present contest originated in an exclusive right, the by the monks of Christchurch, and founded on ancient cube to elect their prelates; and this they exercised on the do of archbishop Hubert, when the junior part of the massembled clandestinely in the night, and placed Registheir sub-prior, on the archiepiscopal throne, without, usual on all former occasions, applying for the royal This was a singular and incongruous institution. Simple ferred the choice to men, who from their seclusion we calculated to appreciate the merits of the candid are cularly regarding the choice of the archbishop of the original properties of the candid are cularly regarding the choice of the archbishop of the who enjoyed so elevated a situation in church and his nomination interested both the king and the present the security of the sub-part of the candid are cularly regarding the choice of the archbishop of the sub-part of the candid are cularly regarding the choice of the archbishop of the sub-part of the candid are cularly regarding the choice of the archbishop of the sub-part of the candid are cularly regarding the choice of the archbishop of the sub-part of the candid are cularly regarding the choice of the archbishop of the sub-part of the candid are cularly regarding the choice of the archbishop of the sub-part of the candidate.

On the election in 1205, Reginald, the person the monks, was sent to Rome, under an oath of secri divulge the nature of his mission until he had so pontiff. But the vanity of the monk subdued his I and as soon as he was out of England, he assumed of archbishop elect. The wiser part of the brother b seeing the difficulties likely to ensue, regarded the Reginald as invalid, asked permission to proceed to mate election, and, following the royal recommendat John de Gray, bishop of Norwich. He received p of the archbishopric from the king, who sent a depu twelve monks to support his cause at the court of where both the candidates were rejected. The ele Reginald was annulled, because contrary to the c form; that of the bishop of Norwich, because it h made before the nullity of the former had been any lousand marks were offered to purchase the pope's ence, but Innocent spurned the bribe with indigna-John de Gray was the confidential adviser of the one of his justiciaries, and, consequently, so occuh temporal affairs, as to have little leisure for attendthe spiritual duties of his diocese. But this kind of ad been long practised in England; the pope had d the late primate, Hubert, to retire from the got of the kingdom on that account, and could not now, inconsistency, allow another minister of state to be n the archiepiscopal throne. In this dilemma the roposed Stephen de Langton, an Englishmen of emitho had taught in the schools of Paris with applause, esteemed a prelate of undisputed science and virtue. been honoured with the purple, and since he was I had frequently received letters from king John. To all objection, the pope had requested the king's perto elect the bishop at Rome, and sent other envoys to is approbation of the prelate elect; but not receiving wer to those letters, after waiting some time, Stephen isecrated at Viterbo by Innocent himself. The bishop vich was unwilling to resign the object of his ambition. his councils involved his royal master in a contest, to is depressed finances were unequal. The monarch eaked his vengeance on the monks for their furtive of Reginald; a body of armed men drove them from event, compelled them to cross the sea, and took posof their lands for the crown. In vain did Innocent soothing letters, to mollify the king's resentment; the replied in terms of defiance, that Langton should t a foot in England in the character of primate. The became a trial of strength between the king and the By an order from Innocent, the bishops of London, Worcester, waited on John, explained to him the f the censures to which he was exposed, and beaim on their knees to accept of the new archbishop; monarch treated this threat with derision, and the were obliged to pronounce the sentence of interdict. perated throughout his dominions, so that the church

[AID A osed, no bell was tolled, the administration of the sacra store except to infants and the dying, was prohibited, and the lies of the dead were silently buried in unconsecrated 3181092 *; a mode of ecclesiastical punishment which was un-sais 25 in the first ages of Christianity, but had been fre-sily used in the eleventh century, to restrain the rapacity 1105951 nobles, whose tyrannical measures respected neither the fit reflic y of the altar nor the rights of humanity. The success 2290012 net with in different treaties with Scotland, Ireland, and bas bas cast a temporary lustre on his reign; but as his in-ni zin zi government maintained a tyrannical sway, the baronsmoted e more and more incensed towards his proceedings 29115999 hn's obstinacy prevented his making the necessary con-nos VISS by which the interdict would have been removed; and a ; boy he pontiff had waited in vain one year, he issued hisid bouse excommunication against the monarch, who, awares 18 WB is sentence would be the prelude to his deposition, imit to fortify himself against the pope, secretly sought the said 1130 Mohammed al Nassir, who, by his conquests in Spain, misq2 reatened to extirpate Christianity from the south of to disco Nothing favourable resulted from the solicitation. .noisesio ears had elapsed, and John was unsubdued, which the the pope in 1213 to absolve the vassals of the king gain of neir oaths of fealty, and to exhort all Christian princes arons to unite in dethroning an impious king, and in ni bus uting another more worthy, by the authority of the offs ic see. John, however, might have laughed at the sets to nt resentment of Innocent, had no monarch been found bound to undertake the execution of the sentence. The pope sqoq to the king of France, and Philip lent a ready ear to of 153 als which were so flattering to his ambition. army was summoned to meet at the mouth of the and the hopes of the invaders were strengthened by mise of co-operation of some of the barons. Nor was n idle spectator of the gathering storm : he kept under

all the powers of Europe, had they been animated wit ages were performed, and women were churched at the church-door. Of e people assembled in the churchyards to hear prayers and sermons.

nners sixty thousand men, a sufficient army to hav

JOHNwhose fidelity he could confide, so et alienated the affections of his subject that the affections of his subject to the could confide alienated the affections of his subject to the could confide a subject to the coul heir sovereign; but among the number the spotism and lust, of which instances nost exceed belief, the king had rev pecting the royal forests; imposed ma ssive taxes; had troubled and disgrace the most noble families; and by dema curity of hostages, and exacting at ot stles, had converted the most powerfu able enemies. ke preparations were going forward t from Pandulf, the confidential min by his artful insinuations worked u icions, until the king agreed to a con sfactory to Innocent, but disgraceful ohn. On the 15th of May, the king templars, and in the presence of his nights, took an oath of fealty to the po h which vassals took to their lords: e placed a charter in the hands of the , in atonement for his offences agai ch, and not through fear or force, bu and with the unanimous consent of his God, to the holy apostles Peter and at, and to his rightful successors, the l and the kingdom of Ireland, to be held oman church, in fee, by the annual ren rks, with the reservation to himself and stration of justice, and the peculiar righ very epithet of reproach has been expe ly provided that the Peter-pence should be continued, it Salisbury . . Coventry . York . 10 5 -Note, LINGARD, vol. iii,

138 JOHN,

writers and readers on a prince who could lay the England at the foot of a foreign priest, and receive him again as his vassal and tributary. There is, l reason to believe the act originated with the baron eagerly grasped at the opportunity of humbling the pr checking the violence of the despot whom they all From that moment they began to demand the grant liberties. It is also alleged most particularly to his stitious fears, caused by a prediction of Peter the home before the feast of the Ascension should be past, John have ceased to reign. John cherished a lingering ho some fortunate accident might enable him to be engagements. The success of his fleet encouraged that he summoned his retainers to Portsmouth, intending the war into France. The barons refused to obey the and insisted that he should previously recall the exile ing the friends of the prelates who were common announce the interdict to John, and who were all the kingdom. The king was compelled to acquieso performance of this part of his engagements, and repetition of his oath of fealty to the pope's repres cardinal Nicholas, who arrived with the title of leg interdict was recalled.

From the period of that event the pope made an inchange in his politics. From that time he especiause of John, who, relying on his support, sailed French coast, from whence he marched into Bretagat the head of more than one hundred thousand a tempted to invade the French territory. Philip of bring half the number of combatants into the field, deficiency of number was supplied by the spirit and gof his followers. The armies met at Bouvines, on Marque, where a desperate battle was fought, in whit was defeated.

On his return to England, the barons assemble abbey of St. Edmund's, under pretence of celebratic patron saint, but in reality to confer upon, and to mat plan of operations without awakening the suspicions

gn. For this purpose they had several secret meetit which the different liberties for which they were tend were defined, and it was determined they should em in a body, when the king should hold his court at tival of Christmas. Each person then took a solemn refore the high altar, to withdraw his allegiance if John reject their claims, and to make war upon him till uld grant them. At first their demands were answered. sions and delays; but the barons persisted in their I purpose, and the king, fearing that his crown was in , thinking also that oaths and pledges might be vioor his heart was callous to the sufferings his perfidy l on his friends, assumed an air of cheerfulness, and n Runnymead as the scene of conference with the There, an instrument, dated 24th of May, 1215. stinguished by the title of "the charter of liberties," esented by the barons, and subscribed to by the king hesitation.

framers of this charter meant not to disturb or imhe national jurisprudence, but had for their object to the abuses which had grown out of the feudal customs. the despotism of the first William and his successors. nstrument provided remedies for those abuses, and tled the sovereign of much of his tyrannical power. was very galling to John, who, on that occasion, himself a perfect master in the art of dissimulation. ske with courtesy and kindness to the barons, and ed the most prompt and faithful execution of all his ments: whilst at the same time he was pre-resolved aside the charter. No sooner had the assembly disthan he threw aside the mask. In a paroxysm of cursed the day of his birth, gnashed his teeth, rolled s, gnawed sticks and straws, and acted all the freaks adman. From this frenzy he was awakened by his ors, who urged him to devise some means of revenge: consequence of their advice he despatched two de-1s: the one was to traverse Flanders, Picardy, Poitou, tienne, and hire adventurers, at any price, to fight 140 JOHN. -

under the royal standard; the other, to go to Rome implore the interposition of pope Innocent.

The barons had left Runnymead in triumph, and appointed a tournament to be fought at Stamford, to chi the fall of the despot. Before the arrival of that de were apprized of a plot to take the capital in their be They sent a deputation to the king at Winchester and swore their suspicions were unfounded, and offende in the execution of the charter in any manner which suggested by the archbishop. Meantime an answer from the pope, which declared the charter annulate John had granted to the barons. Upon this, the divided his army, and giving the command of out the earl of Salisbury, marched at the head of the ode self. They ravaged the country; with his own hands that set fire in the morning to the house in which he had real night before. Wherever the royal forces could the inhabitants fled to the forests and mountains; the of agriculture were suspended, and the only man kept in the churchyards. The barons seeing the deof their country, debated, and resolved, and change resolves: until, as a last resource, they determined crown to Louis, the eldest son of the king of France was allied to the family of Plantagenet by his married the niece of John, Blanche of Castile, the daughter of sister Eleanor, who married Alphonso of Castile. with the offer, Louis assured the confederates he would them at Easter with a powerful army; but the legate of chancing to pass through France on his way to the isles, thought it his duty to prevent an expedition so his the views of the pontiff. To the legate's remonstrant threat of excommunication, Louis replied, - " I m liege man, Sir, for the fees which you have given me with the kingdom of England you can have no concern I put it to the judgment of my peers, whether you out prevent me from obtaining a crown, to which, in right of wife, I can shew a lawful title."-LINGARD, vol. iii. p. 8 With the hope of obtaining the pope's sanction in behind

is views. Louis stated to Innocent the foundation 1, which was so frivolous, that the pontiff, who ve, fearless man, and not easily imposed upon, was leased; and after waiting to receive despatches rate, proceeded to excommunicate Louis and his This was one of the last acts of pope Innocent few weeks after. His death suspended all eccleceedings at Rome, and John lost his most powerhen he most needed his protection. Louis landed according to his promise, and received the honew subjects in St. Paul's, and bound himself govern them by good laws, to protect them ir enemies, and to reinstate them in their former possessions. Louis exerted himself to please and infidence of the confederate party; whilst John, the spiritual weapons of Gualo, and the fidelity irons, continued to defend the fortresses, and to Prench prince, by continually intercepting his sup-France. In a few months the natives became their allies, and several knights joined the royal but an unlooked-for misfortune at this time overie English monarch. As he was returning athwart from the Cross-Keys to the Fossdike, a train of ad sumpter horses, laden with his jewels, insignia, , were swallowed in a whirlpool, caused by the ie tide and the current of the Welland. With a t the king proceeded to the Cistercian convent at I, where fatigue, or anxiety, or poison, or a sur-Il these causes are mentioned by different histow him into a dangerous fever. It was with difwas conveyed, the next day, on a litter, to the sleaford; there he passed the night, and from wrote to recommend the interests of his children tection of the new pontiff, Honorius III. e went to the castle of Newark, and there sent for r; appointed his eldest son, Henry, to succeed expressed his wish to be buried at Worcester, near. the shrine of St. Wulstan. He expired on the 19th of ber, in the forty-ninth year of his age*.

At that inauspicious period of John's sovereignty, his conscience, or his pusillanimity, allowed him to lose but a faint struggle, his foreign dominions, the king his hours in merriment and debauchery. Surrounded voluptuous court at Rouen, he affected to laugh at the program of the confederates; and, while his strongest delegated to the crumbling around him, seemed secure in the lap of pleasant the reduction of Radipont awakened him from his leave.

When John claimed the intervention of pope Innoces to compel Philip, by ecclesiastical censures, to observe oaths, the pope entered warmly into the cause, and apple legates to decide the controversy between the two upon which it is asked, what right had the pope to inch in this authoritative manner? To answer that question shew the real grounds on which the popes assumed the tended authority in temporal matters, the reader is prewith the following extract from one of the letters Innocent to king John .- (LINGARD'S History, vol. iii.] " If thy brother trespass against thee, go and tell his fault between him and thee alone; and if he will not ! thee, then take with thee one or two more; and if he neglect to hear them, tell it unto the church; but it neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as and then man and a publican.'-Matt. xviii. 15-17. Now. king of England maintains that the king of France, by forcing the execution of an unjust sentence, has trespu against him. He has therefore admonished him of his h in the manner prescribed by the Gospel; and, meeting no redress, has, according to the direction of the same 6 pel, appealed to the church. How then can we, whom vine Providence has placed at the head of the church, re to obey the divine command? How can we hesitate to

The contents of the charter granted by king John, and on which are found liberties of Englishmen, will be found in the 63rd and following pages of Low History, vol. iii.

;

ccording to the form pointed out by Christ himself? o not arrogate to ourselves the right of judgment as to e, that belongs to the king of France. But we have a to judge respecting the sin; and that right it is our o exercise against the offender, be he who he may. By aperial law it has been provided, that if one of two at parties prefer the judgment of the apostolic see to of the civil magistrate, (Apud Grat. caus. ii. 9. 1: 5.) the other shall be bound to submit to such judg-

But if we mention this, it is not that we found our ction on any civil authority. God has made it our o reprehend the man who falls into mortal sin, and if glect our reprehension, to compel him to amend by iastical censures. Moreover, both kings have sworn to re the late treaty of peace, and yet Philip has broken eaty. The cognizance of perjury is universally allowed ong to the ecclesiastical courts. On this account, therewe have also a right to call the parties before our tri-." In the same note, vol. iii. p. 17, Dr. Lingard obs, that the pope's reasons did not convince the king, the clergy, of France, and that the mission of the two es was totally useless.

CHARACTER OF JOHN.

This monarch stands before the reader polluted meanness, cruelty, perjury, and murder. His virtues, if a menster could possess virtues, were unseen or form, since history has recorded only his vices. John d with an ambition, which rushed through every crime e attainment of its object, a pusillanimity which often, a sole appearance of opposition, sank into despondency, dissimulation was so well known, that it seldom ded; his suspicion served only to multiply his enemies; indictive temper prevented the approach of all who had red his displeasure, and his heart was callous to, the estions of pity. He could even affect to be witty at the use of his victims. When Geoffry, archdeacon of Norm, a faithful servant, retired from the exchequer on acceptance.

count of the interdict, the king sent him a cope of lead keep him warm, he said, in his prison. Wrapt in this p derous habit, with his head only at liberty, the unhappy remained, without food or assistance, till he expired. another occasion he demanded a present of ten thouse marks from an opulent Jew at Bristol, and ordered one his teeth to be drawn every morning till he should pay money. The Jew was obstinate. The executioners be with his double teeth. He suffered the loss of seven, then gave security for the payment of the money. The E tiousness of his amours irritated his queen Isabella, who deavoured to punish his infidelity by imitating his conbut John would not bear this insult, and he hanged here lants over her bed. She bore him three sons, H Richard, and Edmund; and three daughters, Jane, Ella and Isabella." - LINGARD, vol. iii. p. 91.

CHAPTER XVI.

HENRY III.

JOHN was succeeded by his eldest son, Henry, who he just completed his tenth year at the time of his father He was, therefore, alike incapable of holding the n government himself, and of choosing, from his own jucone who was duly qualified for the important office earl of Pembroke, as marshal, was at the head of the power, and determined to support the authority of the your prince; he was chosen protector, and, fortunately for Hell and the nation, the regency could not have been tru sied to more able and faithful hands. On the feast of St. Simon and St. Jude, Henry III. was led to the cathedral of Glouces ter, and having taken the usual oaths, and sworn fealty pope Honorius, was crowned by the legate Gualo, assis by the bishops of Winchester, Bath, and Worcester, v placed on his head a plain circle of gold in lieu of the crown, which had been lost with the royal treasures,

In the following month a great council was held at Bristol, which had for its object to reconcile the claims of the crown those of the subject. In order to effect this the great enter was revised, and cut down from sixty-one to forty-chapters.

Every clause of a temporary nature, or which personally relative late king and his opponents, was struck out; relatives were omitted which bore hard on the ancient and the crown, particularly those relating to the levying of and se mages; those relating to forests, warrens, sheriffs, and other royal officers; those regarding the egress of, and ingress into, the kingdom; and regarding the erty of persons dying intestate: but it was understood none of the original provisions were repealed, only that were supended for the consideration of a full assembly aron si

therto, Louis had reigned in the capital and in the opuprovides of the south, almost without an opponent; equeratly, he rejoiced at the death of king John, but he and that his son would prove a more formidable petitor than the father. On the other hand it became policy of Gualo and Pembroke to foment the jealousy and content of their adversaries; and, therefore, tales of the of the French, and of their contempt for the were industriously circulated. The poutiff, by his mulated the zeal of Gualo; the report of a conspiracy the chief of the English nobility was revived, and beto that, by these, and similar means, a revolution was y wrought in the public in the quaint in the quaint ge of that time, "the fair of Lincoln," because most de conquerors were enriched by it, secured the crown on lead of the young king; and the defeat of the French shortly after, compelled Louis to negotiate for his persafety. A treaty of peace was signed at Lambeth, and is, with his foreign associates, was allowed to return in tt. We are told this favourable condition was the result a promise, confirmed by an oath, from Louis, that, on his OL. I.

accession to the French crown, he would restore to Hem the provinces which had belonged to Henry's father.

The departure of Louis secured the crown to Henry he had not a relative with whom he could advise, or to a he could intrust the care of his interest. His mother queen, by her misconduct, had forfeited the confident the nation in her husband's lifetime; and, after his day she had wholly abandoned her son to hasten back from for the purpose of marrying her former lover, the count Marche. But Honorius, as feudal superior, declared him the guardian of the orphan, and commanded Gualo to a near the king's person, to watch over his safety, and possible the purpose of marrying in the same sentiments.

But the late contest had generated a spirit of insul nation, which bore, with impatience, the restraint of mate authority. The charter was again confirmed alterations more favourable to the people; the court foresters were regulated, unjust tolls abolished, holders of estates within the royal forests were allow right to cultivate and improve their lands. Still the attached to each party betrayed their animosities in d outrage, or messages of defiance. The legate " marshal sought to heal these wounds by conciliator sures; and, by degrees, tranquillity was restored, so the autumn, Gualo went back to Rome. He was so by Pandulf, who was equally faithful in his services young king; which became of more importance by the of the earl marshal; after which the exercise of the authority was vested in Hubert de Burgh, the just whilst the custody of the royal person was given to P Roches, bishop of Winchester. These ministers were while the one sought the support of the native fami other proclaimed himself the protector of the for whom the policy of John had settled in the islan presence of Pandulf was a check to the ambition ministers, and, by his advice, they were induced t

that, during the minority of the king, they would not dispose of any of the great fiefs of the crown.

On the 17th of May the ceremony of the coronation was repeated.

In the year 1221, Alexander, of Scotland, married Johanna. the eldest of king Henry's sisters; and, at the same time, Hubert, his minister, married a Scottish princess, who had been in the custody of the English crown. Such an ascendancy did Hubert obtain over the mind of Henry, that his infuence induced his rival, Peter des Roches, to banish himself from England, under the pretence of making a pilgrimage to the holy land; to which act he was principally led by an excitement of disgust, arising from the following incident :among the foreigners enriched by John, was a sanguinary ruffian named Fawkes, who, for various misdemeanors, had been amerced at Dunstable assizes in the fine of three thousand pounds. Instead of submission, Fawkes waylaid the judges, and seizing Henry de Braibrook, confined him in the dungeon of his castle at Bedford. Hubert, glad of the opportenity to wreak his vengeance on a partisan of the bishop of Winchester, induced the king to invest in person the fortress of the rebel. The garrison maintained its defence nearly two months, but being then compelled to yield, when they planted the royal standard on the tower they sent the women to implore the king's mercy. Hubert, who resolved to deter men from similar excesses by the severity of the punishment, caused the knights and others, eighty in number, to be hanged; the archers were sent to fight against the Turks; and Fawkes, who voluntarily surrendered himself, was stripped of his money, jewels, and lands, and banished from the island, as also his wife and family.

Under the pretence of protecting the kingdom from a threatened invasion by France, Henry solicited an aid, which was at first refused, until the two charters were ratified in the form they have ever since retained.

The departure of the bishop of Winchester had left Hubert without a competitor; and though the pontiff had cautioned the king not to make himself a member of any party, bu to

arbitrate as a parent and a sovereign, Henry lent to Hubert the whole power of his authority. But an unsuccessful expedition into France, in which he accompanied the king, gave the first shock to this minister's power; every tongue loudle accused him, and when, on occasion of an inroad being made by the Welsh, Henry lamented his want of money, he was told that he might easily extort it from Hubert and his relatives, who for years had been accumulating wealth at the expense of the crown. The advice was adopted, and Hubert received an order to account for the monies he had expended; he fled from the scrutiny; and when, afterwards, he was summoned to appear before the court of his peers, in Cornhill, he replied, "that he should offer no defence; but that he placed his body, his lands, and his chattels at the king's pleasure." It was then awarded that he should retain only, for himself and his heirs, his patrimonial inheritance, and the lands which he held from mesne lords; and four earls engaged to keep him in safe custody in the castle of Devizes.

From the period that Henry was freed from the control of de Burgh, he chose his ministers, and acted from his own judgment, in the measures of government. Respecting the relations of Scotland and Wales, during the whole of this king's reign, which lasted more than half a century, the harmony between England and Scotland was never interrupted by actual hostilities, though subjects of altercation occurred at different periods. But Henry often led his army into Wales, and was as often compelled to return foiled and disappointed; as Llewellyn, the native sovereign of Wales, whom Henry styled prince of Aberthraw and Lord Snowdun, had married Jane, a natural daughter of John, by Agatha, daughter to earl Ferrers, and was much more inclined to dispute than to obey the authority of his superior.

After many fruitless attempts to recover those provinces of France, which were formerly annexed to the English crown, Henry found himself involved in a war with Louis IX., the son and successor of his former rival. Battles were fought, and truces granted, but a term of seventeen years elapsed before a final adjustment took place; and then

Louis gave to the king of England the Limousin, Perigourd, and Querci, and promised that, at the deaths of the count and countess of Poitou, Laintonge, and the Agenois, should be transferred to the English crown.

Henry's transactions with the court of Rome discloses the system of oppression under which the English clergy, by the united influence of the crown and the tiara, were compelled to submit, and which subjected them to very grievous exactions. The popes, in imitation of the temporal princes, often required a tollage of the clergy, amounting generally to a twentieth, sometimes to a tenth, and, occasionally, to a larger share of their annual income. The persons so taxed remonstrated; for some time the king and the barons appeared to be only indifferent spectators of the struggle, but they were at length induced to interfere, by the consideration, that, in proportion as the clergy became impoverished, the national burden would press with additional weight upon the laity: they then joined in opposing the measure, yet no effectual alteration was made. The papal provisions also gave frequent cause of complaint, especially that which gave to the pontiff's authority the right of nominating to vacant benefices, as, by that measure, many Italians possessed livings which should have been conferred on English clergymen; and it often happened that these foreigners, after defraving the charge of a substitute to perform the duty, received and spent the remainder of the income out of England. Innocent IX., after his return to Rome, in the year 1252, proposed, as a temporary remedy, to set aside the sum of eight thousand marks for the supply of non-residents, and to compel the foreign clergymen to reside or resign, and that all benefices should be filled as soon Thus the controversy remained as they became vacant. during the sequel of Henry's reign.

Shortly after that transaction Henry was weak enough to accept the crown of Sicily from the pope, between whom and its rightful heir there was a quarrel. It had been offered to Charles of Anjou, then to Richard, the brother of the king of England, and, lastly, to Henry, for his son Edmund. At that time Conrad, king of Germany, had conquered

Apulia, and was on the point of invading Sicily, when Henry promised to conduct his son Edmund with a large army to take possession of it. To enable Henry to do the Innocent engaged to advance one hundred thousand pounds but Henry delayed, and Conrad died; while Manfred, print Tarento, the illegitimate offspring of Conrad, opposed a Henry, Conradine, the infant son of his deceased father; because, under this mask, Manfred entertained hope of possessing the crown himself.

Two years were spent by Henry, in futile exertions to pot in execution the promises he had made to the pope. Imnor died, and was succeeded by Alexander IV., who pured the same policy, and sent the bishop of Boulogne to Es land, to make the necessary arrangements with the king it the investiture of his son Edmund, under whom Sicily Apulia were to form only one kingdom, to be holden by apostolic see, by the yearly payment of two thousand ources! gold. Henry bound himself to defray all the former expenses of this negotiation, and to land with his army in Ami before the next feast of St. Michael. The debts already tracted amounted to 90,000%; and the pontiff sent lelled complaining of the distress to which he was reduced by the negligence of Henry, in not sending him the prumise remittances. In vain did the king apply to the lay tenantsi the crown. The English nobility had, on the first proposal endeavoured to dissuade him from the enterprise, and no obstinately refused their aid, and it fell to the clergy to levy to money for the expedition into Italy. The bishops and abbo saw themselves compelled to accept bills, drawn in the name, but without their consent, for the sum of 20,000l. favour of certain bankers in Venice and Florence. To insu the payment, a tenth part of the annual rents of the cleri was ordered to be paid into the exchequer for five successi years; the goods of clergymen who died intestate, and or year's income of all vacant benefices, were reserved to t crown; and the sums collected in England, Ireland, Scotlan and Norway, for the crusade against the infidels, were place at the king's disposal.

While the clergy were thus oppressed by Henry, the disputes between him and his barons assumed an alarming appearance, and, instead of winning a foreign crown for his son, Henry found it necessary to defend his own. The crown of Sicily was offered, with the consent of prince Edmund, by Urban IV., the successor of Alexander, to Charles of Anjou, who, having raised a powerful army, gained a splendid victory in the plains of Benevento; and, by the death of Manfred, who fell in that battle, obtained peaceable possession of the whole kingdom.

It was Henry's misfortune that he inherited his father's hatred to the charter of Runnymead, and considered those barons as his enemies who had conspired to deprive the crown of its legitimate rights. This belief caused him to confide in the fidelity of foreigners more than in the affection of his own subjects. The king's application for money was sure to meet at first with a refusal; and when the barons did relent, it was always on conditions that were painful to the feelings of the monarch: but no sooner were his coffers replenished than he forgot his promises, and even his oaths. So that a repetition of his demands was treated with scorn; and to soften opposition, the king offered, on one occasion, to submit to excommunication if he failed to observe his engagements. In the great hall of Westminster the king, barons, and prelates assembled; the sentence was pronounced by the bishops, with the usual solemnity; and Henry, placing his hand on his breast, added, "So help me God, I will observe these charters, as I am a christian, a knight, and a king, crowned and anointed." The aid was granted, and the king reverted to his former habits.

At length the standard of rebellion was unfurled; and Henry, alarmed, submitted to the request of his people, and dismissed the foreigners; still, however, retaining about his person some favourites, to whom he was profusely prodigal. His marriage, in 1236, to Eleanor of Provence, opened the way to many foreigners, among whom three of the queen's uncles enjoyed a large portion of the royal confidence. William, bishop elect of Valence, was admitted of his coun-

cil, and assumed the ascendancy in the administration. To barons remonstrated; Henry, to mollify their anger, adde three of their number to the council, and, the better to secur himself from their machinations, obtained from the poper legate to reside near his person. This was the cardinal 0 through whose persuasion the queen's uncle, William returned to the continent. The next favourites were two other uncles of the queen, Peter de Savoy, to whom Henry gare the honour of Richmond; and Boniface de Savoy, who, the the death of Edmund, succeeded him as archbishop of Carterbury. The natives renewed their complaints, and general discontent arose to such a height, that, at a go council, summoned by Henry at Westminster, Roger Biol in the name of the barons, demanded that the powers government should be delegated to a committee of bands and prelates, with authority to correct abuses. To this preposal the king found himself obliged to submit.

On an appointed day the great council, afterwards dist guished by the appellation of "the mad parliament," mes Oxford. Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, headed new constitution, and articles were entered into, promised that measures for the reformation of the state should be it cided upon before Christmas. But the faction which had wrested the authority from Henry were in no hurry to effect their reform; their principal exertions were exercised in sharing the good things among themselves, and in framing excuses to delay the promised reform they had undertaken w accomplish. The barons grew impatient; and the earl of Gloucester, who, with the earl of Hereford, was leagued with Leicester, began to quarrel with each other: so that Henn after possessing for the space of two years the mere shadow of royalty, now entertained hopes of recovering his authorit and power; and he requested of the people to judge of him by his actions, and not by the accusations of his enemies.

Soon after the king was restored to his regal rights, he wa imprudently induced to pay a visit to Louis of France, an ment was favourable to the rebellious party, rd, the king's eldest son, who acted as regent absence, had called around him a guard of hom he committed the custody of his castles, had now a powerful auxiliary in Gilbert de the deceased earl of Gloucester. Both parties er arms, and victory fluctuated between them, airs were submitted to the arbitration of Louis, ger of the barons was again renewed at his idon became a scene of riot, and the flames of the lighted up throughout the kingdom. Henry successful, but his army was afterwards defeated of Lewes, where ten thousand men are said to Among the prisoners were prince Edward and Henry, son of the king's brother Richard, who had

king of the Romans. having, by the success of this battle, reached the ambition, made the king the tool of his greatthout consulting him, affixed his seal to various is intended to degrade the royal authority. One of resolution, that the king should delegate the choosing his councillors to a committee of three Which mode of forming the great council caused authority to extend more largely than that of Henry done. Meanwhile the cause of the captured moardently espoused by foreign nations, and by the Pontiff: and a numerous fleet assembled in the har-Damne, to transport to England the thousands who om to humble the pride of a disloyal and aspiring At this news the earl put himself at the head of tious army to intercept the invaders; the wind also mirary to their design. The arrival of the cardinal whom the pontiff had commissioned to protect by his presence, was also prevented, through the itions of the earl; and the pretended liberty of the d his son was so fortified with humiliating condito have rendered them abjectly the prisoners of earl r: but the descent of the latter from the summit of his greatness was more rapid than even the anticip his direst enemies could wish. The defection of leagues, the earls Derby and Gloucester, was the for of misfortunes, which followed in quick succession, last anchor of his hope was broken in the defeat of Simon de Montfort, at the siege of Pevensey. Of after that event, his eldest son Henry fell by his sibattle of Evesham, and his dead body was soon coverof the earl himself, to whose corpse, we are told, manities were offered; but the king ordered his mamains to be collected, and they were buried in the the abbey.

By this victory the sceptre was firmly replaced on of Henry; but the measures adopted by the parlian sembled at Winchester on that occasion, were not of to restore the tranquillity of the public mind. The predatory warfare had raged so generally, that the prince Edward was occupied nearly two years in these partial insurrections. The governor of the Kenilworth refused, during more than six mont offer made him by the sovereign, and the garriso length compelled by famine to surrender, having from the elemency of the king, the grant of their live and apparel.

Llewellyn obtained, as the price of his submis title of the prince of Wales, with a right to the h the Welsh chieftains. The clergy received a grat twentieth part of their revenues; and the restoration throughout the kingdom allowed leisure to Henry to the improvement of his people, to which end ma laws were enacted.

It was at this period that Edward, the heir appar the principal support of the throne, resolved to ac the French monarch on an expedition to Jerusaler accorded with the spirit of that age. Little remains original kingdom of Jerusalem, but to that little th tians clung with a devoted attachment; a generous siasm impelled them to consider its preservation as mon cause of all Christendom. Historians attribute the conduct of Edward as much to policy as to devotion, as hereby he opened an honourable field for the exertion of arbulent and adventurous spirits. It is also supposed that he prince's determination to make the journey arose in the risit of cardinal Ottoboni, who was sent by Clement IV. with instructions to Heary on his restoration to his throne: or the pontiff's attachment to the king had suffered no diminution by his elevation to the papal chair, from whence he watched as anxiously for the success of the royal cause as he lid when he was Guido, bishop of Sabina, at Boulogne, in the year 1264.

On prince Edward's arrival in the English camp, he found his allies plunged in the deepest affliction. Louis of France had died of a dysentery; it was winter, and men who were unaccustomed to the navigation of the Mediterranean were fearful of the undertaking, and the prince found himself compelled to return with his associates to Italy, from whence he despatched his cousin Henry with private instructions to England. But that prince, having visited Viterbo to witness the election of a successor to pope Clement IV., after hearing mass one morning, and remaining still at his devotions, was alarmed at a well-known voice exclaiming, "Thou traitor, Henry, thou shalt not escape." Turning, he saw his two cousins, the outlaws, Simon and Guy de Montfort, who, approaching with drawn swords in complete armour. covered Henry with a multitude of wounds, which caused his immediate death. The heart of this amiable prince was deposited in a golden cup in Westminster-abbey, near St. Edward's shrine. His father, Richard, buried the body in the church of Hales, an abbey which he had founded, and was himself, shortly afterwards, interred in the same vault. King Henry followed his brother in a few months. He had rebuilt the abbey-church of Westminster, which, by the native historians of the age, was deemed superior in magnificence to any other in Christendom. There king Henry's body was deposited in the very tomb from which he had

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previously removed the bones of Edward the confessor was

Henry III. expired in the fifty-seventh year of his rein In disposition he was gentle and credulous; warm in hi attachments, and forgiving in his enmitties: without view and without energy: he was a good man, but a weak me The troubles which disturbed his long-extended reign may be attributed to his limited genius and appricates temper, which rendered him careless and inconsiderate in prosperity-abject and desponding in adversity. The reads must have been frequently disgusted with the king's regard to his promises and oaths, which he violated with greatest impunity. For this mean and fatal propensity, he torians have pleaded the weakness of his judgment, which suffered him to be persuaded by his favourites that his promises were not binding because they were compulsory, laring been extorted from him in opposition to the just claim of the crown. Of Henry's children, two sons and two daughters survived him: Edward, who succeeded him; Edmund, who, by the forfeiture of the Montforts, ohims the estates and honours of that family, and thus laid it foundation of the power which enabled his descendants, of the house of Lancaster, to wrest the sceptre from the hands of Richard II. The daughters were, Margaret, queen of Scotland, and Beatrix, duchess of Bretagne.

During the reign of Henry may be reckoned the formation of the constitution of the British parliament, composed of the lords spiritual and temporal, and the representatives of the counties, cities, and boroughs.

The ancient, but indefensible custom, the trial by order was abolished at the commencement of this reign, which, it very probable, led to the invaluable institution of the trial by jury. The system of police was organized about the sam period, and a watch for the protection of the metropoli ordered to be kept from sunset to sunrise.

The English church at this period was adorned by th virtues and abilities of several of its prelates, particular

those of Langton, Rich, and Grosseteste. Cardinal Langon, whom Henry called from banishment at the beginning of is reign, was a zealous advocate in the cause of freedom. He s said to have divided the bible into chapters, but his writings have perished: however, we are assured that he confined his attention to ecclesiastical concerns, and published a code of dissipline of forty-two canons, at a synod at Oxford, in the year 1222; at which synod a clergyman, in deacon's orders, was conricted of apostacy, having suffered himself to be circumcised hat he might marry a Jewish woman, for which crime he was lelivered to the secular power, who condemned him to be burnt. it is observed that this is the first instance of capital punishment inflicted on the ground of religion in England. The second in succession to Langton was Doctor Edmund Rich. who was acknowledged to have been equal in learning, and superior in piety, to most men of the age. Robert Grosseteste was another prelate eminent for his virtue; he was indebted for his education to the charity of the mayor of Lincoln, and by his proficiency amply repaid the discernment of his benefactor. Friar Bacon pronounced him " to be perfect in divine and human knowledge." During a visit he made to Lyons he presented a memorial, divided into three parts, stating the different abuses in the church. In the first he describes the evil resulting from bad pastors, which evil he ultimately refers to the papal court, because it possesses the means of prevention if it chose; and because it encourages the system by provisions and impropriations. In the second, he enumerates the obstacles opposed to the zeal of the bishops, by exemptions, appeals, secular judges, the ingenuity of lawyers, and the hostility of ministerial agents. In the third, he paints the abuses which require to be remedied in he papal court itself; the irregular conduct of the lower class of its servants, the venality of the judges, and the mmoderate use of the clause non obstanta. In 1220, the riars, preachers, of St. Dominic, and the friars minors, established by St. Francis, were introduced into England, :o aid the parochial clergy in the discharge of their religious unctions.

Lingard remarks the inaccuracy of Paris the historian, (vol. iii. p. 113, note 16,) wherein it appears that the letters, written in 1223, containing the archbishop's injunction to the king, regarding the ratification of the charters, are still extant, and prove to be exactly opposite to what Paris has represented them.

Again, Paris mentions that in the year 1231 Henry determined not to marry the princess Isabella of Scotland, because she was the youngest sister of Hubert's wife: yet the truth is, that Isabella had then been married six years to Roger, the son of earl Bigod.

It is amusing, observes Lingard, (vol. iii. p. 194, note 101,) to compare the opposite writers of this period. Wikes and the letter-writer in Westminster (392-395) are royalists but severely censure the ambition and treason of Leicester; and in the estimation of the chroniclers of Dunstable (363), and of Waverly (220), Leicester lived a saint, and died a martyr. Mailros (231-232) is more enthusiastic in his praise of Leicester, than any of our national historians. He employs seven pages in proving the sanctity of the earl, by a number of ridiculous miracles.

Speaking of Mathew Paris, a monk of St. Albans, Lingard says: "The ponderous volume which was partly compiled by him, and continued by Bishanger, under his name, contains original and some valuable documents; but the writer, accustomed to lash the great, whether clergy or laity, seems to have collected and preserved every malicious and scandalous anecdote that could gratify his censorious disposition. It may appear invidious to speak harshly of this favourite historian, but this I may say, that when I could confront his pages with authentic records, or contemporary writers, I have, in most instances, found the discrepancy so great, as to give to his narrative the appearance of a romance, rather than a history."—Vol. iii. p. 216.

CHAPTER XVII.

EDWARD I.

FHE reader is already acquainted that prince Edward had joined the army of the Crusaders in Palestine previous to his father's death. He was pronounced king of England at his father's funeral, by the earl of Gloucester, who, with the barons, swore fealty to him.

Had Edward been inclined to revisit England in 1271, he might have done so with honour, when the army broke up on the coast of Africa, and the principal leaders returned to their respective homes. But his curiosity and his devotion caused him to remain; and though his followers did not amount to one thousand men, a magic attending his name, springing from the same source with the "lion-hearted Richard," excited expectation in Christians and infidels, that Edward would equal the fame of that hero.

On Edward's arrival at Acre, Bondocar the soldan of Baby-Ion had prepared to assault the city, but he retired across the desert into Egypt, having first secured, as his friend, the emir of Joppa, who, under the pretence of embracing Christianity, obtained the confidence of the English prince. Edward had been eighteen months at Acre, when the emir, by a ruse of treachery, contrived that one of his messengers should attempt the life of the monarch with a poisoned arrow *. The wound was intended to reach the heart, but it was received in the arm. Edward, aware of the consequences, hastened to prepare and sign his will; however, by the skill of an English surgeon, who pared off the sides of the wound, every dangerous symptom was soon removed; and assisted by a vigorous constitution, and the kind attention of his consort Eleanor, who fortunately had accompanied him in the expedition, in three weeks the king was recovered; and a truce with the sultan for ten years allowed him the opportunity of returning to England.

The Monk of Melrose received this account from one of the crusaders, and it is
confirmed by William of Tripoli, who then resided at Acre.

On his way he visited pope Gregory X., who, when archdeacon of Liege, had accompanied Edward in his expedition to Palestine, but for his virtue and learning had been since called to fill the chair of St. Peter, Edward took this occasion to demand justice of the pontiff against the assassins of his cousin Henry *. Throughout the journey Edward was considered the champion of Christendom, -the martyr of the cross, and at Milan and elsewhere costly presents were made to him. At the foot of Mount Cenis, he was met by the count of Savoy; and soon after, by a body of English knights and prelates, but his arrival in England was retarded by his stay in Guienne, on account of the distracted state of that province. Whilst there, Edward was challenged to a tournament with the count of Chalons. The pontiff by letter earnestly exhorted the king not to accept the challenge; but Edward considered his honour to be at stake. and he entered the field with a thousand champions, and met his antagonist who had nearly double the number. The trial of skill and strength was soon converted into a deadly battle, and the English gained the victory after a dangerous and sanguinary contest. Again Edward set forward on his journey, and again he was delayed, for the discussion of a subject intimately connected with the mercantile interests of England; so that it was the 19th of August, 1274, when Edward I. was crowned at Westminster t. Soon after this

After a confinement of eleven years, Guy was liberated by Martin IV., and took possession of Squellace, the patrimony of his wife, in Tuscany. He adhered to the house of Anjou; and was taken prisoner by the Arragonian admiral in 1287, and remained in eaptivity till his death. James, king of Sicily, asked ten thousand ounces of gold for his ransom; a sum which he had not the means to pay.

† Alexander king of Scots, in obedience to the king's summons, attended at the coronation; and was allowed, as agreed by Richard I., five pounds per day for expenses on the road. On the present occasion, Alexander received the sum of one hundred and "fy-dive pounds."

Simon de Montford was already dead; but Grey, and his father-in-law, Aldebraydini, were cited before the pontiff. The purgation of the latter was admitted; the former did not appear. Guy was convicted of sacrilege and murder, and was pronunced an outlaw. He solicited the elemency of Gregory to commute the sentence for imprisonment. For this purpose, Guy, attended by his friends, took the opportunity of meeting the pope near Florence. In his shirt, with a halter round his neck, he threw himself at the feet of the pontiff, who, moved at Guy's humility, ordered him to be confined in a castle of the ecclesiastical states, and wrote to Edward, to apologize for his lenity.

vent, Wales became subjugated to his power, Llewellyn aving afforded an opportunity for hostilities by his refusal to wear fealty as a vassal of the English throne. Edward dvanced with his fleet across the Dee, and cut off the comunication between Snowdon and the sea. The Welsh soon At the privations of famine, and Llewellyn was compelled) surrender on conditions which were prescribed to shew superiority of the conqueror, but which Edward afterards rendered easy, by the terms of friendship which he stended to the chieftain, and to his brother David. As the ing considered the subjugation of Wales to be accomplished, e exercised his benevolent disposition, and permitted lewellyn to marry Eleanor de Mountford, daughter of the ite earl of Leicester, and who was then the king's prisoner. 'o David he was a bounteous protector; yet a very short eriod sufficed to convince Edward that his bounty had been estowed on a faithless and unworthy object.

The Welsh had imbibed from their ancestry an antipathy wards the English. They beheld with grief the gradual exnection of their national usages, the distribution of the canceds into hundreds and shires, and the introduction of lnglish laws and English judicatures. David, with all his bligations to Edward, felt dissatisfied; even Llewellyn had, pretended to have, causes of complaint, and lent a willing or to the inflammatory suggestions of his brother, who added the rebellious party; and on Palm Sunday, in the arkness of the night, and amid the howling of a storm, sided by the faithless David, they surprised the strong stle of Hawarden, an event which served as a signal for a neral insurrection.

The Welsh poured from their mountains into the marshes, d the country waste with fire and sword, and inflicted on a inhabitants, without any distinction of age or sex, every sery that the ferocity of savages could invent. Edward first refused to believe the intelligence; but his incredulity ing convinced, he adopted such measures of defence as the gency of the occasion required. In Radnorshire the mies were contending, when Llewellyn, having entered a

barn for shelter, intending to take a short repose, was apprised by Adam Frankton, a knight, who, heedless of the quality of his person, seeing in him an enemy, wounded in with his spear, and leaving him dead, found, after the hole that the enemy he had slain was Llewellyn. His head a forwarded to Edward, who commanded that it should a fixed on the tower of London.

As soon as Llewellyn's death was known, the other chieftains hastened to make their submissions, with the exception of David, who, for six months, eluded the vigilance dis enemies by seclusion in the mountains and forests, perfidy of his own countrymen hunted him from roll rock, and at length he was taken prisoner, and conducida chains to the residence of the king at Rhuddlan. Appl ment was immediately summoned to assemble at Shrews which unanimously condemned David "to be drawn " gallows as a traitor to the king who had made him a limit to be hanged as the murderer of the gentlemen taken in it castle of Hawarden (a strong fort that was besieged beginning of the rebellion); to have his bowels but ! cause he had profaned, by assassination, the soluming Christ's passion; and to have his quarters dispersed throat the country, because he had, in different places, company the death of his lord the king." This sentence, which le gard observes, has been for centuries the legal sentences cases of high treason, was literally carried into executing and the tragedy terminated by a ridiculous dispute beam the citizens of York and Winchester, for the possessing the right shoulder of the prince. It was in reality a points precedency, and was decided by the council in favor Winchester.

The independence of Wales expired with Llewellyn; the better to secure the permanency of his conquest, Elm spent the following year in Wales, during which period son Edward was born at Carnaryon.

From the final pacification of Wales to the commer of the troubles in Scotland was an interim of four year much of that period was spent by the monarch in s between the kings of France, Arragon, and Sicily; shom were consigned within a few months to the tranof the grave. The French regency invited Edward to the office of mediator; but while he was engaged in cerns of foreign states, the people of England comthat he neglected the interests of his own kingdom. efusal of a supply by the parliament admonished him a; and he soon found in the unfortunate situation of 1 ample field for the exercise of his policy and his Edward's sister Margaret had married Alexander, Scotland, by whom she had two sons, who both died, e daughter, married to Eric, king of Norway: the ad also a daughter Margaret; and now, by the death infant princess, the posterity of the three last Scottish and become extinct; and the crown of Scotland was 1 by thirteen competitors.

n Edward accepted the office of judge in this controhis ambition led him to maintain his claim to the apent, as a right inherent in his own crown, because, he eing the superior lord, the kings of Scotland reigned vassals. In consequence of this acceptance the king oned the barons, prelates, and commonalty of Scotland, t him at Norham, on the borders of the two kingdoms; church of which place, Brabancon, the English justiannounced Edward's arrival, for the purpose of settling ht of succession to the crown. The true heir was to ad in the descendants of David, earl of Huntingdon, to king William, and from the eldest daughter of had sprung John Baliol, Lord of Galloway. To him wn was adjudged, for which he did fealty to king Edis sovereign lord of the realm of Scotland.

ol soon felt the consequence of vassalage, as every who was dissatisfied with Baliol's decision might to the equity of his superior lord; and in the first his reign he was served with four citations to answer court of England: in every other respect the conduct ward towards Bailiol was generous and honourable. Aliol was soon involved in an endless quarrel with a

powerful adversary, Macduff, the son of Malcolm, ear Fife, which, with the frequency of appeals that he refused answer, afforded a pretence for dissatisfaction: a success of difficulties divided the general interests of the Security people, and a war was the result, which deprived Ballet his crown.

Meanwhile Edward himself suffered similar treatment for Philip, king of France, as his superior lord, for the dekelor of Aquitaine, of which right he was deprived; and which was preparing an army, with which he meant to record to foreign possessions, a new rebellion burst forth among to Welsh subjects, which called for his exertions in that quantagain he conquered Wales; and on this occasion Edward Condemned the rebellious chieftains to close confined Their estates he gave to their heirs, but under a pledge to should they imitate the perfidy of their fathers, they must pect a more severe punishment. From this period the Webegan to give their attention to the cultivation of the sol, profits of commerce, and the arts of peace.

It was Midsummer before Edward returned to his and he was again preparing for the recovery of his a marine dominions, when the Scottish barons, who are assert their independence, formed a league with the k France against the power of Edward, and this led battle of Dunbar, where the English achieved a chear on their part, an almost bloodless victory; and Scotlar subdued.

To the deposed Baliol, Edward granted every induced compatible with his own interests; the tower of L was assigned him for his residence, with the libert circle of twenty miles round the walls of the city, three years the royal captive was allowed to retire into mandy, Boniface, the pontiff, having become responsible his future good conduct, which we have cause to this never infringed upon, as no further mention is m Baliol until his death, in 1305.

After that event Edward made the tour of Scotlan found every sword sheathed, and every knee ready to

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im as their lord; but the monarch had learnt, that oaths nted from a conquered people impose but a feeble idmint on the spirit of independence. No sooner had the settled the government of Scotland, than William Wallace, the youngest son of a country gentleman, rekindled the fame of Scottish patriotism. In him, however, this pin, which ever after predominated throughout his actions, was rather the suggestion of self-security than the pure emain of love for his country; he had committed murder, sought an asylum from justice in the barren wilds of bottand, where he was joined by many of similar disposiand desperate fortunes. Among the latter was sir Miam Douglas, another leader of outlaws, who had been Prisonerat Berwick, and received his liberty from the mosity of Edward. This rebellious party increased until Decame formidable in their numbers, and were for a time knous; but were at length overcome at Falkirk. Wallace from that battle with life, but he became from that es fugitive in the woods. The fortress of Stirling alone hiefiance to the power of Edward, and that, after a siege days, during which the king was exposed to imminent surrendered to his arms. This victory was followed Capture of Wallace; whose retreat, it is thought, was by one of his followers. However, he was brought London, and there suffered the punishment of a traitor. historian declares his opinion that Wallace owes the chebity as much to his execution as to his exploits. the Scottish chieftains who experienced the enmity of he alone perished on the gallows; on which account he monopolized the sympathy of his countrymen, and berered him as the martyr of their independence.

Mowbray, who suggested the summoning of a Scottish iment at Perth. The result of their deliberations was, I John de Bretague, Edward's nephew, should be apted guardian of the realm, with the aid of the present aberlain and the chancellor, who were both Englishmen.

King Edward having succeeded in his relations with form powers, now that he had wrested the province of Guins from the grasp of the king of France, and extended his wall rity over the kingdom of Scotland and the principality Wales, next turned his attention to the regulation and

provement of his patrimonial dominions.

" For many amendments in the English constitutes we are more indebted to views of personal interestimad as lightened policy. In the infancy of the feudal institutions in warrior was everything, the tradesman or merchant notice But the latter, in the progress of civilization, gradual quired property : property gave consideration, and during civil war of the last reign, both parties had found the ance of the principal towns and cities as valuable as half the most powerful barons." The wars in which Edward gaged necessarily involved him in extraordinary emes but the measures by which he endeavoured to supply wants, oppressive as they were at the time, ultimately me a benefit to the subject, by provoking that resistance confined the prerogative of the crown within more more limits. Edward's despotic exactions, and the exterior practised to supply the extraordinary expenses in which was involved, exhausted the patience of the nation, and as upon him the opposition of the earls of Hereford and None

When the king was on the point of sailing for Fland he thought it necessary to harangue the people; and platform before the entrance of Westminster Hall, according panied by his son, the archbishop, and the earl of Wa wick, the king owned that the burdens he had laid them were heavy, but that they were necessary; and were less painful to him to impose than it had been to other bear them. His object had been to preserve himself and h liege men from the cruelty and rapacity of the Welsh, Scots, and the French, who not only sought his crown, b also thirsted after their blood. In such case it was bett to sacrifice a part than to lose the whole, "Behold"

acluded, " I am going to expose myself to danger for w I return, receive me again, and I will make you amend

fall, here is my son; place him on the throne, a here is my son; place und v. At these word in the shall reward your fidelity." At these word in the shall reward your fidelity." burst into tears: the archbishop was equally affi the contagion ran through the multitude, and shouts of l and approbation persuaded the monarch he might still d on the allegiance of his people. The king then proceeded on his expedition, but, conti expectation, remonstrances from the clergy, baron of England followed him. The parliamen and drew up an address in which they dem a former charter, which his necessitous sit ed him to grant. The king at first resolv refuse the quest; but his obstinacy was soon subdue untoward events, and he returned a favo answer wishes. This was the most important en gained over the crown since it invest people the sole right of raising the supplies, and the sole right of raising the supplies, and the desponder to check the extravagance and to come desponder of their monarchs. If we are indebted of their monarchs. If we are indebted ecting barriers against the abuse of the sov re ought equally to revere the memory of chelsey and the earls of Hereford and North liberties of the subject on a sure and period adation at his return from the continent, employed means to evade the fulfilment of his engage and finding the attempt to plunder his own subjects w by the people, he exercised his oppression anew This sect experienced the most prejudiced doring the period of his reign. They were plundere impunity by exclusive taxes, by a capitation tax, a anious hard restrictions, and were even distinguishe ticular badge, as an acknowledgment that they w 's slaves. In 1290, the whole race was expelled l ation: the royal order was, that they should q anordom within two months, taking with them only a Nent sum to supply them on their journey. Sixteen th

five hundred and eleven persons received passports on occasion; their lands, houses, and treasures, were all fiscated for the benefit of the crown.

Notwithstanding these deeds of oppression, and that ward had levied very unjust and exorbitant sums from people, yet, for the improvements he made in the national judicial codes, he obtained the name of the English Judicial Prior to these salutary amendments, the office of judges was indicted for bribery, that in 1289 the whole bear of judges was indicted for bribery, of which only two acquitted. Weyland, chief justice of the King's Bench, so found guilty of having first instigated his servants to comb murder, and then screened them from punishment. He jured the realm, and all his property, real and personal adjudged to the king*.

Several alterations were made regarding the transmission property. At the commencement of Edward's reign on tenant possessing freehold lands of inheritance could combis property into a manor, with manorial courts, profix immunities, by granting or selling a portion of it to more individuals, to be held by them and their heirs for munder fee or military service. Repeated complaints birth to the statute by which the creation of new manors prohibited, and it was enacted, that in all sales and grant land for the future, the new feoffee should hold his land of the individual from whom he received or purchased is of the chief lord of the fee. Hence it is that at the product to have existed as such since the year 1290.

When age and its attendant infirmities had made inroads on the king's constitution, the apprehension of

^{* &}quot;He escaped from custody, disguised himself, and was admitted a novieta the friars minors at St. Edmundsbury. His retreat was discovered, but us have sanctuary, forty days were allowed him according to law, after which, the introdof provisions into the convent was prohibited. The friars soon left it through Wayland followed them, and was conducted to the Tower. In the king's contoption was given him, to stand his trial, to be imprisoned for life, or to all realm. He chose the latter; and having walked barefoot, and bareheaded crucifix in his hand to the sea-side, was immediately transported."—Linoaso, p. \$63, note.

rived by the death of Comyn, a claimant to the throne, who owed the event to the murderous hand ival Bruce, grandson of Robert Bruce, the original to the crown of Scotland. Baliol, before his death, punced, for himself and his posterity, all right to the His only son at that time was a prisoner in the Tower, next whose task it was to defend the family rights, n Comyn, Baliol's nephew. It chanced that these ame to Dumfries at the same period, and made an nent to meet each other in the church of the Minority. e murder occurred; but whether it were the result of litated plan, or the sudden impulse of passion, must or ever unknown.

rd refutes the representations of the Scottish hisand the embellishment of Hume, respecting the Comyn; and proceeds to state that "Edward was ritated, than alarmed, at hearing the intelligence of der. He did not entertain a thought that this deed verturn his superiority, but sent his orders to his it, Aymar de Valence, to chastise the presumption e; and all the young nobility of England were sumto receive, in company with prince Edward, the of knighthood, previous to accompanying the prince pedition to Scotland."

ame historian gives the following account of the y used on that occasion: (vol. iii. p. 373.) "Tents ated in the gardens of the Temple, where every aspirant honour received from the royal wardrobe vests of I mantles of purple and gold. To avoid the heat crowd, the king knighted his son within the palace; prince conferred the like honour in the Abbey n his two hundred and seventy companions. Conto ancient custom, the vows of chivalry were taken esence of a peacock, or other bird of beautiful plund now the minstrels placed two swans, in nets of the table during the royal banquet. The king fore God and the swans, that he would avenge the Comyn, and besought the people, in the event of his

death, during the expedition, to keep his body unburied, they had enabled his son to fulfil his vow. His son swore he would not sleep two nights in the same place, he had entered Scotland, to execute his father's commin His example was applauded and followed. The next me ing, the prince, with his knights companions, departed the borders. The king followed by easy journess let a obliged from weakness to remain in the neighborhood Carlisle, whither his military tenants had joined him"

Meanwhile Bruce, who had staked his life by the un sought to save it by winning a sceptre. He assumed title of king, and was crowned at Scone without opportunity But disasters soon followed him, and for two months wandered a fugitive; and then having embarked in all ship, buried himself from his enemies during the winter an unfrequented part of the north of Ireland. At Car Edward attended the deliberations of his council, and in his commands respecting the treatment of his prisons number having fallen into his hands by the summer Kildrummy, and among them the females who had her joined the outlaws in the highlands. To the wife of B his directions were curious*. At the end of winter exiles issued from their retreat. Bruce, in one into defeated the English army, which proved such a soll vexation to Edward, that he attempted an advance Scotland; but the exertion of mounting his horse threw back into his former state of weakness, and having processing only six miles in four days, he expired at Burgh on the on the 7th July, 1307, in the sixty-ninth year of his " the thirty-fifth of his reign.

She was moreover to have three greyhounds to hunt in the warren an she wished. As much venison and fish as she wanted, the house she li

liberty to ride to any part of the manor.

^{*} He assigned her the manor of Brustwick. Her establishment was females of the country, of a good age, very sedate, and of approved companion, the other as a waiting-maid. Two valets of good age as belonging to her father, the earl of Ulster; the other of the country, to A footman to stay in her chamber, a sober man and not riotous, to make do other things fitting for the chamber. A house-steward to take care pantry, and butlery; also a cook.

The following account of this monarch is from LINGARD, (vol. iii. p. 255.) King Edward I. was in his thirty-sixth when he came to the throne. "In person he was tall, well proportioned: the length of his arm gave additional to his stroke; and when placed on his saddle, no uggle of his horse, no violence of the enemy, could disge him from his seat. In temper he was warm and cible, impatient of injury, and reckless of danger; but his er whight be disarmed by submission, and his temerity med to be justified by his success. His reputation had a established among the admirers of chivalry by his wess in battles, in tournaments, and in his expedition to estime. In ambition he did not yield to any of his preessors, though he had a different object in view: they hausted their means in acquiring foreign conquests, whilst lward spired to unite in himself the sovereignty of the ole island of Great Britain: nor was he entirely disointed. The subjugation of Wales, and its incorporation England, and the attempt to subjugate Scotland, come the most interesting occurrences of this reign."

dward was twice married. His first wife was Eleanor of daughter of Ferdinand III. She deserved and possed the affection of her husband: she is described as being gant in her person, and gentle in her manners; pious, and charitable; abstaining from all interference in of state; and employing her authority to relieve the and reconcile those who were at variance. penied her husband to Palestine, and gave birth to a Acre: the prince died in his infancy. She bore three other sons, and eleven daughters, of whom by three are known to have survived their father. Queen died near Lincoln; the corpse was brought to be tened at Westminster, and wherever it rested for the night, minimizent cross was erected to her memory. Some of * crosses still remain, and are of considerable elegance. ward married for his second wife, Margaret of France. nuptials were solemnized at Canterbury. By her the had two sons, who survived him.

CHAPTER XVIII.

EDWARD II.; OR, EDWARD OF CARNARYON.

This king was twenty-three years of age when he ascend the English throne. Besides the many advantages h queathed to him by his illustrious father, he was he pour object of the people's love; and all men promised tranquillity and happiness under his government. In soon found that they had entertained a better opinion of young king than he really deserved; as an unfor attachment to Piers de Gaveston was productive of the fatal results. Whatever portion he inherited of the sition of his father, was obliterated by the trifling if of his companion, with whom he had shared in an e pursuit of dissipation and pleasure, so that his roval having by frequent admonition, and occasional pun vainly tried to instil into his mind the love of mor objects, had banished Gaveston from the kingde when he did so, he required from him a solemn pro he would never return without the consent of the so

When the late king was ill at Carlisle, he sent to Edward to his bed-side, and after giving him such dying kings have often given to their intended succe told him, that of the money then in the treasury he queathed thirty-two thousand marks for the service score knights in Palestine; he forbade him, under p paternal malediction, to allow Gaveston to return to without the previous consent of the parliament; manded him to prosecute the Scottish war, and to dead bones along with the army*.

The commands and the advice of Edward I. v

^{*} Froissart informs us that, on that occasion, the king caused his son to saints, in the presence of the barons, that as soon as he should be dead. I his body boiled in a large caldron until the flesh should separate from the would have the flesh buried and the bones preserved; and that when should rebel against him, he was to carry against them the bones of his believed most firmly that, as long as his bones should be carried again those Scots would never be victorious.

both; especially, as regarded Gaveston; whom he immetely recalled to his presence, and on whom the young much conferred the earldom of Cornwall, with a grant of which had formerly belonged to Richard, king of the mas; and gave him also the money which his father had of for the holy war. The king, then, under pretence varing for his marriage and his coronation, hastily reto England; and in further defiance of the parental ion, Edward buried his father's bones at West-

s recall was followed by a total change in the government. Langton, bishop of Lichfield, the who, by refusing to supply money beyond the ownce to the prince, and by his remonstrance on ace of pleasures in the society of his favourite, y incurred his enmity, was now stripped of his d thrown into prison. Gaveston was made lord ; he married Margaret, the king's niece, and, put in possession of various honours, was ap-Sent of the kingdom, during the expedition which ade to France, for the purpose of espousing Isahter of the French monarch, at that time admired the most beautiful woman in Europe. A marriage contracted between them by proxy in 1297, when was only thirteen, and Isabella only seven years he nuptials took place at Boulogne, in the presence kings and three queens; and the royal pair protheir coronation at Westminster, which ceremony rmed with great outward magnificence, and much discontent; because, regardless of former precedent, On, a foreigner, enjoyed the place of honour next the the procession. Three days after, the barons drew Petition, demanding his banishment. The king endeato mollify their anger by delaying to answer them; nobles were determined: the request was repeated, Gaveston was compelled to quit England, and to swear he would never return; and the bishops pronounced against him the sentence of excommunication, in should violate his oath. Before the inhabitants he congratulate each other on his departure, they lea Gaveston had assumed, by royal appointment, the ment of Ireland, in which office he displayed a mathat was insulting to the natives.

As the king stood in need of a supply to carry me with Ireland, the commons appended to their votes that their grievances should previously be relieved; enumerated the various abuses which the people had from the royal purveyors for more than a century, a matters, which are fully explained in Lingand's Hist pp. 386-7. The monarch, who felt more intereste company of his favourite, than for the welfare of his a soothed the barons with fair promises, and thus obtain sanction to the return of Gaveston, and immediate ceeded to Chester to meet him.

No sooner was this unworthy man re-possessed former power, and his former means of extravage he gave his enemies increased cause of irritation by castic humour, in giving to them various nicknames calling the count Thomas of Lancaster "The old how sometimes "The stage-player;" the earl of Pembroke, seph the Jew;" the earl of Gloucester, "The cuckold's and the earl of Warwick, "The black dog of the Twice Edward summoned the barons to meet him at and they disobeyed the royal mandate. The favourily scious that he was the cause of discontent, abscouder when the king next called a parliament at Westminst barons came in arms, and he was compelled to consent appointment of a committee of peers, who should n the royal household, and redress the national grid which he had vainly promised to reform.

The archbishop, who had resumed the administration diocese*, seven bishops, eight earls, and thirteen bare

^{*} He returned in 1308. During his suspension, the pope, with the king's had appointed a receiver of the income of the archbishopric, so that athis whole amount was restored to him.

d the royal permission to name the committee; and d an instrument declaring the powers to be exercised by ordainers would expire of themselves at the feast of St. ael the following year. The committee then swore to large their office "to the honour of God, the honour and t of the holy church, the honour of their lord the king, the t of him and his people, according to right and reason, he oath which he took at his coronation."

ne ordainers sat in the capital: Edward was glad to lraw from their presence, and proceeded to Scotland, e Gaveston rejoined him; but in the code of ordinances n up by the committee, and to which the king reluctantly ribed, Gaveston's perpetual banishment was a positive ition: and he once more left the kingdom, but returned n two months, and was joined by the king at York, e a royal proclamation was published, stating that "Gan had returned in obedience to the king's orders; that as a true and loyal subject, and was ready to maintain mocence against the charges of his accusers."

pon this step being taken by the king, the barons chose nas of Lancaster, the grandson of Henry III. to be their er, he being the most powerful among the English nobiand uniting in his possessions the five earldoins of Lanr, Lincoln, Leicester, Salisbury, and Derby. Having tly assembled their party, they proceeded, under the nce of a tournament, to attack the king, and once more mpel him to resign the society of Gaveston, who surered his person to the earl of Pembroke, and the latter, earl Percy, was answerable for his safety. It happened, ver, whilst earl Pembroke went to visit his countess, that ston's enemy, the earl of Warwick, arrived with a nuus force, and took him to Warwick Castle, where a cil sat in judgment on his fate; for "the black dog had n that the favourite should feel his teeth." To a proposal pare his life a voice was heard to exclaim, "You have ht the fox; if you let him go you will have to hunt him 1;" and it was resolved to put him to death. He was beheaded, and his blood was afterwards avenged with blood of his persecutor*.

About the same period the birth of a son in a great me sure assuaged the king's grief for the loss of Gaveston. Conferences were held between the deputies of the king and of the barons, and a form of reconciliation was agreed upon, as subject to the approbation of the earl of Lancaster.

Every difficulty seemed now to be surmounted by seated himself on his throne at Westminster, and the way on their knees, expressed their sorrow, and recomb pardon.

Being at peace with his own subjects, Edward thought a favourable time to go to Scotland; for, while he had contending for a favourite, he had contrived to lose at Bruce had made slow, but constant progress in obtain independence of his country, and the famed battle of B burn, at the commencement of which Edward had fident of victory, ended in the defeat of the English This was an epoch considered by the conqueror favourable to a treaty between the two nations; b ward denied to him the title of king, the negotiation at an end, and Bruce turned his arms towards Irela had long presented a state of dissension and wart cordingly, Edward Bruce, brother to the king of landed at Carrickfergus with an army of six thous all bent upon emancipating the natives from the vo English oppressors; and his first victories gave powerful influence with the inhabitants, that the mously crowned him as their king. His inactivity. abandoned to destruction the different septs who h him; and, although assisted by the presence of h

^{*} His body was buried by the friars in their church in Oxford; it was moved by the king, and interred in the new church at Langley.

We may judge of the wealth of Gaveston from his plate and jewels, the which fills five pages in Rymer,

[†] Among the prisoners was Baston, a Carmelite friar, and a poet. Edwin to attend the battle, that he might celebrate the victory. Bruce of when a captive, to sing the defeat.

want, fatigue, and the inclemency of the weather, at Robert Bruce soon became dissatisfied with his Irish pedition, and hastened back to his native dominions.

In the following year a memorial from that party, in whom re feelings of loyalty and patriotism had been kept alive, was ansmitted to the papal court. This memorial begins by statg, that during forty centuries, Ireland had been governed by own monarchs of the race of Milesius, till the year 1170, hen Adrian IV., an Englishman, conferred, against all manr of right, the sovereignty of the island on Henry II., the arderer of St. Thomas, whom, for that very crime, he ght rather to have deprived of his own crown*; and conaues to complain of the oppression exercised towards them y the kings of England, who established their dominion over se fairest portion of the island, while the natives were comalled to fight for the bogs and mountains. John XXII., ho then filled the papal chair, and to whom this memorial as addressed, wrote to the king in favour of the Irish; and monarch endeavoured to justify himself by replying that me grievances complained of had been practised without his knowledge, and contrary to his intention; and he promised his future protection to Ireland. The war ceased with the ef Edward Bruce in October 1318. After his death, his was treated as that of a traitor, and the quarters were bent to the four principal towns.

During the continuance of the war in Ireland, the English grouned under the more distressing miseries of pestilence famine. A deficiency in the harvest of 1314 created very lateral alarm; so that it became difficult to obtain a supply of for the royal table; and this calamity increased to such alarming height, that the poor were reduced to feed on horses, dogs, and the most loathsome animals. The not of nourishment, and the insalubrity of the food, pro-

Lingard here remarks, that we may excuse the four thousand years attributed to secretarion of their kings; but it is singular, that they were not aware of the manchous in making Adrian live after the murder of the archbishop, though be died twilte years before it.

duced dysenteries and other epidemic disorders an people; and the king, at the suggestion of the cit London, suspended the breweries, as a measure, "which, not only the indigent, but the middle class inevitably have perished through want of food."

During this period of unexampled distress, the taking advantage of the calamitous season, pourd great numbers upon the English borders. The distribution between the king and the barons frustrated the resistance to the rebels, and the northern count ravaged with impunity; until at length a truce for twas concluded through the interference of pope John, "Edward king of England, and Sir Robert de Brus, self and his adherents."

This suspension of hostilities was employed by the Scotland in an attempt to make his peace with The Scottish memorial prepared for that concluded in the following manner, which car claim our admiration for the boldness and fin "Should, however, your holiness give to its style. lous an ear to the reports of our enemies, an in favouring the pretensions of the English, we s you responsible before God for the loss of lives, the of souls, and every other calamity which must arise continuance of the war between the two nations. our duty binds us we are your obsequious children as to the vicegerent of God, we shall yield that which is due: but to God, as the supreme judge, w the protection of our cause. We cast all our care u confident that he will enable us to do valiantly, and down all our enemies."-LINGARD, vol. iii. p. 429.

The pontiff exhorted the king of England to couseful and lasting peace; but Edward was too much with the rebellion of his barons, to attend to other Again had the king fallen into the weakness of se favourite, in the person of Hugh le Despenser, who father, incurred the enmity of the barons, and they that both the Spensers should be exiled from the

It was through the friendship of Lancaster that Hugh Spenser first obtained the office of chamberlain to the king: his talents had procured him the king's esteem, and his marriage with a daughter of the earl of Gloucester gave him a great portion of the county of Glamorgan; circumstances that drew upon him the jealousy and dislike of his former superiors. It chanced that John de Mowbray had taken possession, without asking the royal license, of an estate, in right of his wife, which was contiguous to the lands of the favourite. Spenser maintained that, for the omission, the fief was forfeited to the crown. The lords of the marches pasociated in defence of their rights; they reduced his castles, and burnt, destroyed, or carried off all the property from his twenty-three manors, and then claimed the protection of the earl of Lancaster, the fomenter and patron of every faction. The parties, the earl of Hereford and the lords of the marches on the one side, and the earl of Lancaster, with thirty-four barons and knights on the other, bound themselves by indenture to prosecute the two Spensers* until they should fall into their hands, or be driven into banishment. Lancaster Led the confederates to the capital, and from St. Alban's sent to require of the king the banishment of the two Spensers, and an act of indemnity for the barons; both which requests the king refused to grant. The confederates proceeded to London—entered the hall at Westminster where the parliament were assembled, and, without informing the king of their intention, read aloud an act of accusation against the Spensers, ending with an award of banishment. The pre-

That the reader may form an idea of what constituted the wealth of a nobleman in these times, he is presented with an estimate of the losses as given into parliament on that occasion:—

The elder Spenser.—His crop in the barn, and that on the ground; 28,000 sheep; 2000 oxen and heifers; 1200 cows, with their calves for two years; 40 mares; 160 carthonous; 2000 piga; 300 goats; 40 tuns of wine; 601 flitches of bacon; 80 carcasses of beef; 600 of mutton in the larder; 10 tuns of cider; arms and armour for 200 ages.

The younger.—40 mares, with their issue of two years; 11 stallions; 160 heifers; 400 oxen; 500 cows, with their calves for two years; 10,000 sheep; 400 pigs; arms and armour for 200 men; his crop on the ground; provisions for his castle, as corn, wine, honey, salt, salt-meat, and salt-fish; the rents of his tenants, amounting to 100%; and the debts due to him to the amount of 300%.

lates protested against the sentence in writing; but the king, intimidated by the conduct of the confederates, gave his assent; and granted a general pardon to the earl and his associates. But he felt the indignity which had been put upon him, and took the first opportunity to resent it. His success in taking the castle of Ledes, the governor of which had betrayed the secrets of his royal master to the confederates, infused new vigour into the king's friends, who resolved that the award against the Spensers should be repealed; and they both returned to England under the protection of the king. The popularity of the earl of Lancaster was on the decline, as there now existed strong proofs of his having been in league with the Scots; and some persons even believed he had received a bribe of forty thousand pounds from Bruce. A league was now formed, and a day fixed, when the king of Scots, Randolf, and Douglas, were to meet the earls of Lancaster and Hereford, and unite in their quarrel. The king, aware of these proceedings, collected his forces to oppose the leaguers. Hereford was slain at Boroughbridge by a Welshman, who, through a crevice, thrust his sword into the bowels of the earl as he was crossing the bridge. Lancaster was made prisoner, and was taken to his castle at Pontefract.

Edward resolved to overawe his enemies by severity, and ordered the execution of sixteen of his captives. Lancaster suffered decapitation. As he was led to the fatal block, the spectators pelted him with mud, and taunted him with the title of king Arthur, the name he had assumed in his correspondence with the Scots. "King of heaven!" he cried, "grant me mercy, for the king of earth hath forsaken me."

From Pontefract Edward repaired in triumph to York. The petition of the Spensers was granted, and the father was created earl of Winchester; the son recovered his former ascendancy, but, instead of profiting by the fate of Gaveston, he grew more insolent and arrogant, and thus prepared the way for his own murder, and that of his royal benefactor.

At length the destructive war which, with a few short pauses, had continued during three and twenty years, seemed drawing

close, and Edward hoped to enjoy that tranquillity of he stood in need, when domestic treachery, and that quarter most galling to his feelings, disturbed the peace e English monarch. At a period when the hostilities een England and Scotland had concluded with a truce irteen years in prospect, his queen Isabella, under a preof effecting a reconciliation between her royal consort Ther brother Charles le Bel, took a journey to France, and rived to get her son Edward there also, a boy of twelve whilst there, the queen was joined by Morer *, with whom she lived on terms of private intimacy, were truly degrading to herself as a woman, and most graceful to her royal dignity. Charles le Bel had succeeded brother Philip on the throne of France, and had latterly rmed several frivolous pretexts to quarrel with the king of angland. It had been artfully suggested to the papal envoys, mployed by the pontiff to restore peace between the two ings, that Charles might be induced to grant to the solicitions of a sister what he would withhold from an indifferent egotiator. Edward fell into the snare, and Isabella progeeded with a splendid retinue to France. Months passed way, and neither mother nor son appeared inclined to revisit England. The queen sought to justify her absence by preended apprehensions from the hostility of Hugh Spenser: and thus wrote to the archbishop of Canterbury.

Letter from the Queen to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

. Most Reverend Father in God,

"We have carefully perused the letter by which you require us to return to the company of our most dear and dread

Roger, lord Mortimer of Wigmore, was made a prisoner at Boroughbridge, and was confined with other knights in the tower, from whence he effected his escape by cormpting the fidelity of Girard de Asplaye, one of the officers in the Tower, who, in an entertainment which he gave to the wardens, infused a suporiferous drug into their drink. While they slept Mortimer made his way out of the place, and a boat on the edge of the water conveyed him across the Thames. There he found his servants and Phorses, rode to the coast of Hampshire, where a ship had been prepared for him, and embarked for France; he entered into the service of Charles de Valois. In a very about time he joined Isabella at Paris, and was made the chief officer of her household, in which capacity he wreaked his vengeance on the prince, who had refused to take his life, when it was forfeited to the law.

lord and friend; and assure us that Sir Hugh Spenser is a our enemy, but even, as you say, wishes our good. All we marvel much: for neither you nor any one of sound and can believe that we would abandon the company of our lord without good and reasonable cause; and unless it so to escape the danger of our life, and through fear of the sale Hugh, who has the government of our said lord, and the whole kingdom, and who would dishonour us harded his power, as we are certain and know from the though we dissembled to escape the danger, Indiana nothing we desire so much, after God and our salvain, all be in the company of our said lord, and to live and della same. We therefore beg of you to excuse us: M 12 manner can we return to the company of our said long as out putting our life in danger, on which account were greater grief than we can express.

" At Paris, Wednesday, after Candlemass."

The king then addressed the following to the quee"
"DAME.

"Several times, both before the homage and have ordered you to return to us immediately, any excuse. But before the homage you ex cused por because your presence was necessary for the our concerns; and now you send us word that Spe come, through the danger and fear of Hugh which we marvel with all our might; the more you and he treated each other in so friendly a r us, and even at your departure you gave him pro and proofs, of certain friendship, and afterwards kindest letters, and that not long ago; which le shewn to us. And truly, dame, we know, and so he has always procured for you all the honour in and that since you came into our company, no evil has ever been done to you; unless, perhaps, through your own fault (if you will but remember, spoken to you, as we ought, words of chastisement without any other severity. Neither ought you, as

mecount of God and the laws of holy church, as our honour and your own, for any earthly reason to transgress our commands, much less to avoid our company. Therefore we command and charge you, that, laying aside all feigned reasons and excuses, you come to us immediately in all haste.

" At Westminster, December 1st."

The king, after ordering the young prince his son to return, and to refuse his assent to any marriage, adds the following postscript:—

these our commands tenderly to heart, and perform them humbly and quickly, as you wish to escape our anger and heavy indignation, and love your own profit and honour; and follow no advice contrary to the will of your father, as the wise king Solomon teaches you, and send us word immediately what you mean to do: knowing this, that if we find you hereafter disobedient to our will, we will take care that you shall feel it to the last day of your life, and that other sons shall learn, from your example, not to disobey their lord and father."—RYMER iv. 181-212.

The queen's designs soon unfolded themselves, and it became evident she was the dupe of the Lancastrian faction, and was made the chief agent of the rebellious party, who had resolved on the death of their lawful sovereign. Great numbers having resorted to her standard, Isabella appeared at the head of the insurgents at Orewell in Suffolk.

In a council purposely summoned on the occasion, several instances were detailed of the king's brutal conduct towards his queen; and it was declared she could not return to her consort without being in evident danger of her life. A representation was then made that the queen, the prince, and the earl of Kent, were come to free the nation from the usurped tyranny of the Spensers. Under this and similar pretensions did the queen, aided by her paramour, Mortimer, and the remnants of the Lancastrian faction, work upon the credulity of the people, the great bulk of whom, now struggling with

the effects of disease and famine, were in a proper state for imposition, and tamely saw their king displaced from his throne, and wandering as a fugitive, through the wily intrigues of the queen and her partisans. When Isabella approached the capital, Edward found it requisite for his safety to seek concealment, and retired with a small retinue to the marches in Wales, where lay the estates of Hugh Spenser. At Bristol it was ascertained that the king had taken shipping for Lundy, a small isle in the mouth of the Bristol channel, which had been previously fortified and plentifully stored with provisions. A proclamation was immediately made, summoning him to return and resume the government. The barons and prelates assumed the power of parliament, and resolved, that by the king's absence the realm had been left without a ruler, and they declared the young prince guardian of the kingdom, in the name, and by the right, of his father.

The Spensers were sacrificed to the fury of the party. The father, whose grey hairs should have procured him, at least, the claim to defend himself, for he had passed his ninetical year, was drawn from the court to the place of execution, where he was embowelled alive; his body was hung on a gibbet during four days, and then cut into pieces and thrown to the dogs. The younger Spenser fell as a traitor, with every mark of ignominy which could aggravate the bitterness of his sufferings.

The ill-fated monarch, whom a westerly wind prevented from reaching the isle of Lundy, landed at Swansea, and was conducted to the strong fortress of Kenilworth, where he was treated as a prisoner. A deputation came who used promises and threats to induce him to resign the crown: his answer has been differently reported by his friends and by his enemies; however, he was led into a room where the deputation had assembled, and received back the homage and fealty of his subjects; and his son Edward, who was in his fourteenth year, was declared king. His accession being publicly announced, he was crowned under the title of Edward III.

The custody of the person of Edward of Carnaryon was

given to sir John de Maltravers, who, to conceal the place of his residence, successively transferred the royal prisoner from Kenilworth to Corfe, Bristol, and Berkeley; and, by severity, endeavoured to deprive him of his reason, or to shorten his life. From the period of his son's coronation, the deposed monarch suffered every indignity which the malice of his keepers could invent. During the illness of lord Berkeley, who had been joined with sir John Maltravers in the guardianship of the unfortunate king, he was murdered at Corfe castle, by the introduction of a red-hot iron into his bowels. His excruciating pain caused him to be heard by the inmates of the castle, but no investigation followed the murder, and the corpse was privately buried in the abbey church of St. Peter, at Gloucester*.

A modern historian remarks, that the first Edward had been in disposition a tyrant. As often as he dared, he had trampled on the liberties, or invaded the property, of his subjects; and yet he died in his bed, respected by his barons, and admired by his contemporaries. His son, Edward II., was of a less imperious character: no acts of injustice or oppression were imputed to him by his greatest enemies; yet he was deposed from the throne, and murdered in prison. Of this difference between the lot of the father and the son. the solution must be sought in the manners and character of the age. They both reigned over proud and factious nobles, who, though they respected the arbitrary sway of a monarch as haughty and violent as themselves, despised the milder and more equitable administration of his successor. That successor, naturally easy and indolent, devolved on others the cares and labour of government. But, in an age unacquainted with the more modern expedient of a responsible minister, the barons considered the elevation of a favourite

[•] According to the judgment of the house of peers in 1330, Mortimer commanded the murder, (he confessed it before his death); and Gourney and Ogle, two officers appointed to watch the king during the illness of lord Berkeley, perpetrated the deed. Mortimer suffered death, the others fied; the fate of Ogle remained unknown, but Gourney went to Spain, and being apprehended by the magistrates at Burgos, the king of England requested they would examine him in the presence of an English envoy. The disclosures made by him were kept secret; but the messengers who had him in tharge, received orders to behead him at ses, on his way to England.

as their own depression,—his power as the infringene their rights. The result was what we have seen,—a of associations, having for their primary object the ren of evil counsellors, as they were called, from the person the prince, but which gradually invaded the legitimate n of the crown, and terminated in the dethronement and as sination of the sovereign.

For the part which Isabella acted in this tragely will logy can be framed. In a few years her crime we with the general execration of mankind. She saw in mour expire on a gibbet, and spent the remainder of her

in disgrace and obscurity.

The order of knights templars, established in Illie abolished in this reign. Their wealth and power half rated a spirit of independence, which exasperated is and ecclesiastical authorities. As long as the knight usefully employed against the infidels, their enemines silent; but after their expulsion from the Holy Land indulged in indolence and luxury. Philip de Bel the order to pope Clement V., and accused then in fligacy, idolatry, and apostacy. After mature tion the institute was suppressed, rather as a message expediency than of justice. When the papal bull in purpose arrived in England, Edward delayed its can for more than a year; and when he assented in ISM ordered that the master of the templars in England allowed two shillings per day, and the other knights har per day, out of their former property. Eleven years it being decided that all the possessions of the temperature reverted as escheats to the lords of the fees, an passed which assigned the property to the hospitale the same purposes for which they had been originally to the templars.

Edward had issue by his consort, Isabella of France, sons: Edward of Windsor, who succeeded him on throne, and John earl of Cornwall; and two daughters Jane, married to David Bruce, king of Scotland, and Elements of Scotland,

who married Reginald, count of Gueldres.

Edward founded Oriel College and St. Mary-Hall, in Oxford. Among this king's pious benefactions he endowed the Dominican convent at Langley, in Hertfordshire, with five hundred marks a-year to pray for the soul of Peter Gaveston.

CHAPTER XIX.

EDWARD III.

The son of the late monarch was proclaimed and crowned as Edward III.; but his youth allowed to Isabella and Mortimer an excuse for retaining that ascendancy over his mind which they had hitherto exercised. The regency was formed of their party. The first measures of the new government were, however, disconcerted by the conduct of Bruce; who, thinking the state of affairs in England was favourable to his plan, violated the engagements of the truce, of which only a few years had now expired; and with an army of twenty thousand men, ravaged the county of Durham.

Edward waited six weeks at York for the arrival of his forces, which gave great advantages to the enemy, who were by habit and constitution particularly calculated for predatory excursions. The Scottish troops consisted of cavalry; their drink was water, their meat the cattle of the country, which they slaughtered, and then boiled in the skins; and they carried with them a scanty supply of oatmeal in a bag, which each horseman attached to his saddle.

The English army spent many days in a vain pursuit, not being able to reach the enemy, as the velocity with which they advanced, or retreated, made it difficult to discover or pursue them. Edward, by proclamation, promised the nonour of knighthood, and an annuity of one hundred pounds for life, to the first man who should bring him intelligence of the Scots. Thomas de Rokesby gave the information; but the English were foiled in this campaign by the superior skill and activity of the enemy; and the peace which was signed between the two nations, the following spring, was equally in-

glorious to England. Edward resigned, by a solemn inde ment, every claim of superiority over Scotland; and consen that the dominions of Bruce, his dear friend and ally, de form a kingdom distinct from that of England, without jection, right of service, claim, or demand whatsomer. preserve the general harmony, it was agreed that Jan, Edward's sister, should marry David, the eldest sur all marry and that the sum of thirty thousand marks should put Edward, as a compensation for the damages infloating Scottish army in the last invasion; which sum, on the riage of her daughter at Berwick, Isabella divided best herself and Mortimer. The arrogance of the latter establishment that exercised by any former favourite. Mortimer the regal authority in the council, he filled the countil dependants, he placed spies around the young monard, he maintained a guard of one hundred and eight for his own security. Such conduct excited the jain the great barons; his scandalous familiarity with the murder of the late king, who now was as much he had formerly been blamed, and the public disappear of the recent peace with Scotland, concurred to emble enemies of Mortimer, and associations were formed to the him from the court.

As the discontent of the nation increased, many safereports were circulated and believed. Among others affirmed, that the late king was still alive, and living in castle, under the custody of sir John Deverel. The Kent, the king's uncle, was surrounded by the agents timer, who, under the guise of friendship, drew him a snare which cost him his life. He, with the archbis York and the bishop of London, was arrested on the of having conspired to depose the young king, and his father on the throne. Intrigues against the earl were carried on by forged letters, purposely brought tate priests, some of which were pretended to come pope, urging the earl to liberate his brother from prisothers from prelates and barons, promising him their o-operation, when he should unfurl the royal standards.

y on their plans more effectually, the earl's enemies from him letters, which they undertook to deliver to captive. By these, and similar contrivances, they I in bringing forward a list of accusations against of Kent, and he was arraigned before the peers, who ed him to suffer the penalty of treason. It was beat his birth would have saved him from punishment, ella was inexorable in forcing his execution; and e had rendered himself unpopular by his haughty ir, yet, such was the general feeling as to his innot no person could be procured by money to be his exeand, after a suspense of four hours, a felon in the ea was induced, by a promise of pardon, to strike off

ed was now eighteen, the age at which his predecesbeen deemed capable of guiding the realm; and of Hainault, whom he married in 1328, had borne in the same who is so celebrated in history under the the Black Prince. The king felt the state of desin which he had hitherto been kept: his mind was with concern at the conduct of his mother, and he is to Lord Montacute, and, acting under the advice of leman, he resolved to assume the regal authority; lan was arranged to arrest Mortimer during the of the parliament at Nottingham. For this purpose the gained the confidence of sir William Eland, gof the castle, in which the royal party resided during ion, as every precaution was taken for Mortimer's

Through a subterraneous passage, leading from side of the rock to the castle, the king's friends were ed; and having seized Mortimer, he was brought be-parliament to answer to the following charges: That omented the dissensions between the late king and his—that he had illegally assumed that power which, by svested in the king's council alone;—that of his own y he had removed the late king from Kenilworth to y, where he caused him to be put to death;—that by

his agents he had caused the earl of Kent to believe brother was alive, and then procured the earl's dear pretence of treason;—and that he had embezzled the treasures, &c. The peers retired with the bill of important, and after some deliberation declared all the day to be notoriously true: they therefore condemned Months to be drawn and hanged as a traitor and enemy of the land kingdom;" which sentence was put in example.

The queen's mother was spared the shame of a time solicitation of pope John XXII., who also exherted by letter, to shun the danger of favouritism, and was his system of government by the united advice of his prelates, and commons, assembled in parliament.

Repeated incursions of the Scots engrossed the of Edward during the succeeding three years, until the duct furnished the monarch with a pretext that they lated the treaty of peace; and he induced the English liament to give its approbation to a renewal of them English were powerfully victorious at the bath don hill, when sir Archibald Douglas, the regent of with six earls, and many barons, fell on the field and Baliol was seated on the throne of Scotland. In 11 period, however, the cause of independence again trium though, as long as Baliol was supported by the king of land, he rose victorious from every disaster; but in moment that Edward determined to claim the on France, the war with Scotland was suffered to languis fortress after fortress surrendered to David, the son of Bruce. To understand the line of policy pursued ward during the remainder of his reign, we must reven succession of the French monarchs.

Philip IV. of France, who died in 1314, left through Louis, Philip, and Charles, who all died without make and two competitors, among the descendants of their cessors, put in their claim to the throne: Edward of the grandson of Philip IV., by his daughter Isabel

On this occasion the disgusting practice of embowelling was omitted

Pailip of Valois, as grandson to the father of that monarch. his cause being brought before the twelve peers and the trons of France, they decided in favour of Philip; and the tag of England was summoned to do him homage for the tachy of Guienne.

The jealousy of the rival kings of France and England many grounds of complaint, which were only partially many grounds of complaint, which were many grounds of complaint, which were the each felt the the into new hostilities. the affairs of Scotland hurried them into new hostilities. had been the policy of the French crown to support the cottish kings against the power of England. Edward bethis conduct with displeasure, and his enmity was Tenethened by the advice of Robert Artois, a stranger, and a outlaw. Having obtained the aid of several continental inces and sovereigns, the English monarch sailed with a ses of this expedition, Edward had recourse to subsidies, fes, and forced loans: he pawned his jewels and his seized for his present use the tin and wool of the The allies who had promised their assistance to Edwere willing to come into the field; and for twelve s he did nothing more than ravage the country in his , and born many villages, and exercise all the annoyances gover ment, and cruelty to the inhabitants, which the ar had rendered usual on similar occasions. In did pope Benedict XII. represent to Edward, that his ition, ara cd the interested views of his allies, were leading nioto difficulties and disgrace. Although the king had handed lais army, and had involved himself in debt to the Bount of three hundred thousand pounds, he persisted in his arpose, and had the imprudence to set forth his claim to the Prench crown in two proclamations, issued at Ghent, in which the French lilian with the Transchaffer and quartered in his the French lilies with the English lions.

The value and the crown of France, as son of Charles, and the charles are as a son of Charles, as son of Charles, as son of Charles, as son of Charles, and the charles are as a son of Charles, as son of

Leaving his queen at Ghent, as an hostage for his specific that the preturn, Edward revisited England, and obtained from his pliament an unprecedented supply. This time Edward salled in a gallant fleet from Orewell, and obtained so complete a factor over Philip, who had assembled with the aid of the Green and Normans a powerful fleet in the harbour of Slays, but the French ministers were fearful of informing their count of the disaster. His buffoon first hinted it to him by alies, the English cowards; and when the king asked the result the French and Normans. Edward's next plan was to be Tournay and St. Omer, in which he was unsuccessful finding his treasures exhausted, and that his allies result fight without money, he reluctantly consented to an arming the which the Scots were also included.

Edward retired from the walls of Cambray in subsets gust. The clamours of his allies, who required the discontinuous of their arrears, caused him to demand money from but the exchequer was unable to supply his want was compelled to borrow of usurers at exorbitant Some of his courtiers took this opportunity to institute king's mind suspicions as to the fidelity of his minimum suddenly, leaving the earl of Derby and other noblem pledge with his creditors, he sailed from a port in Ze and stole up the Thames, landed at the Tower, and the chancellor, treasurer, and master of the rolls, continue of the judges, and ordered the arrest of most of officers who collected the revenue.

The king's dispute with archbishop Stratford, president the council, involved a question interesting to the privile the peerage, as its result established, as an undeniable prior that no peer could be arraigned, or brought to judgment cept in parliament, and by his peers. During the cest of hostilities the urgency of the king's wants had been plied, on the usual condition,—the redress of the prior the council to the privile that the privile tha

immemorial; and his allegation that the law, though in full force with next mother, who was a female, was yet void with respect to himself, who was a make tained a glaring contradiction; for if his mother was possessed of no right in less person, how could she possibly transmit it to her sons?

grievances; and here Edward practised a new system of dissimulation: while he cheerfully granted their petitions, embodied in the form of statute, he had previously signed a protest against them, in which he declared that what he had conceded through necessity, he would afterwards revoke at his own convenience. Two years elapsed before he again ventured to meet his parliament. He had then the address to prevail on both houses to consent to the repeal of the former act, on condition that the principal of their requests should be granted.

The failure of the two last campaigns did not prevent Edward from forming fresh continental alliances; and he now supported the cause of John, the new duke of Bretagne, against Charles de Blois, nephew to the king of France, and acknowledged heir to the dukedom in right of his wife Jane, whose heroism is extolled by all historians. John crossed over to England and did homage to Edward as king of France, and his sovereign. Edward assisted his vassal with a body of troops under the command of sir Walter Manny, and followed in autumn with twelve thousand men. In the following winter, Clement VI., who had been lately raised to the chair of St. Peter, sent two of his cardinals to mediate a peace, and a truce was concluded for three years and eight months; but in the interim John of Bretagne died, and appointed Edward guardian to his son. The hope of a permanent peace between the parties was soon extinguished, and preparations for war were carried on by both sides. Edward obtained grants of wool from his parliament; and Philip established the gabelle, the monopoly of salt, for the crown; which caused the king of England to declare his adversary now reigned by salic law: and the king of France retorted by denominating Edward " the wool merchant."

At length the English parliament recommended the renewal of hostilities with France; and an army proceeded to Guienne, under the command of the Earl of Derby. This expedition was victorious: he recovered the greater part of the places which had been conquered by the enemy; and while he pursued his victorious career, Edward made a fruit-

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less attempt to gain the earldom of Flanders for h After that failure, Edward collected a numerous force, e ing solely of his own subjects, and sailed to the or Normandy; which province was so defenceless, that wh fleet burnt the vessels in the different harbours, the am laged the country, set fire to the villages; and collected p ers. Edward's object was to cross the Seine and ly the town of Calais. This was rendered so difficulton account. of the bridges having been purposely destroyed, that arm could only be effected by stratagem, which he at leng complished over the Seine and the Somme; and got possession of Crotoi, he issued his orders to ma necessary preparations for the expected battle: for the army were then at Abbeville. The spot on which E determined to receive the enemy was an eminence whi on a gentle ascent a little behind the village of Creci. evening he entertained his barons at supper, and dis them with a promise of victory. When they were go entered his oratory, threw himself on his knees be altar, and prayed that God would preserve his honou slept little, and at the dawn of the morning assi mass, and received the communion with his son, the prince of Wales, who had just reached his fifteenth ve

Never were preparations made under circumsta truly awful. The sun on that day suffered a partial birds in clouds, the precursors of a storm, flew scream the two armies; and the rain fell in torrents, account with incessant thunder and lightning. About five afternoon the weather cleared up, and the battle. The young prince being in danger, sir Thomas Norwito request a reinforcement; upon which king Edwa from a windmill, watched the chances of the battle, if his son were killed, or wounded? and being told "Then," said the king, "tell Warwick that he shano assistance. Let the boy win his spurs. He, as who have him in charge, shall earn the whole gloriday." The conflict was fiercely and bravely maintain seemed so greatly in favour of Edward that, at the

the day, when it began to grow dark, John of Hainault took hold of the bridle of Philip's horse, and telling him to reserve himself for victory on some future occasion, led the monarch away by force. With a small retinue of five barons

The flight of Philip did not terminate the contest; but as the darkness increased, the fighting gradually ceased; the voices of men seeking the banners from which they had wandered were no longer heard, and the English rejoiced

and sixty knights, the king escaped to the city of Amiens.

that they had repulsed the enemy.

The darkness of the night was succeeded by a dense mist in the morning, and the carnage is said to have exceeded that of the former day. At noon Edward sent the lords Cobham and Stafford to examine the field of battle. In the evening they presented to the king eighty banners, and a catalogue of eleven princes, twelve hundred knights, and thirty thousand persons of inferior condition. A truce of three days was proclaimed to allow the enemy time to bury their dead; and Edward assisted in mourning at the funeral service in the cemetery of Montenay.

Among the slain was John, king of Bohemia. His crest, three ostrich feathers, with the motto "Ich dien," "I serve," was adopted by the prince of Wales, and has been always

borne by his successors.

The two kings commenced immediate measures of future security. Edward, to ensure a convenient harbour for himself on the French coast, undertook the reduction of Calais: and Philip dispatched a messenger with presents to the king of Scotland, exhorting him, by the invasion of England, to avenge his own wrongs and afford assistance to his ally. The eagerness of David wanted no excitement; only six days before the victory of Creci, Lionel, the second son of Edward, and guardian of the kingdom, had ordered levies to be made to watch and oppose the motions of "the Scottish insurgents." From Perth, David led his army into Cumberland, and thence, by Hexham, into the bishopric of Durham; but the English forces assembled and gave them battle at Nevil's Cross, where they proved victorious, and David was

made prisoner, and afterwards conducted to the Tower of London.

When king Edward entered Normandy, he left his gallant cousin, the earl of Derby, to struggle in defence of Guienne against the powerful army commanded by John, duke of Normandy, eldest son to the French monarch. The victory of Creci caused Philip to require the presence of his son and the aid of his army, which gave the earl, who before could only act on the defensive, the opportunity of crossing the Garonne; he then laid waste Ancenis, Saintonge, and Poitou; carried by storm the rich and populous city of Poitiers, and led back his troops, laden with plunder, into their winter-quarters. Edward was now engaged in the siege of Calais, which he meant to reduce, not by assault, for not a single engine was erected against the place, but by the less fallible operation of famine. John de Vienne, the governor, upon seeing a town of huts rise around him, penetrated into the design of the king, and turned out of the place every individual who, upon inquiry, did not possess a sufficient supply of provisions for several months. Philip did not neglect the means in his power to relieve so important a fortress. Taking with him the Oriflamme, the sacred standard of France, he encamped at Whilsand with one hundred and fifty thousand men; but finding the roads rendered impassable by the fortifications of the besiegers, he proposed a peace which was rejected: he then challenged Edward to a general battle, which the latter accepted; but the French monarchfearful of defeat, retired on the eve of the day which had been appointed.

The moment he was gone, the arms of England, quartering the lilies with the lions, were seen to wave on the castles. In vain did the governor solicit for a capitulation; Edward insisted that he should surrender at discretion. This intelligence brought despair to the inhabitants, as they knew the king had expressed a resolution to punish their habit of piracy, and feared that his enmity had been embittered by the obstinacy of their resistance. They met in the market-place to consult together, when the noble generosity of Eus-

tace de St. Pierre offered to stake his life for the sake of his fellow-townsmen; five others imitated his example, and they proceeded barefoot, and bare headed, with halters in their hands, to the English camp, where Edward received them with apparent severity, but granted their lives to the tears and entreaties of his queen Philippa. Thus was Calais severed from the French crown, after a siege of twelve months. To secure his conquest, Edward expelled the majority of the natives, and repeopled the town with a colony of his own subjects.

Calais rapidly became a place of importance, and was appointed the general mart for the sale of merchandise exported from England; and it continued to flourish for more than two centuries under the protection of its conqueror and his successors. An armistice of six years was now agreed upon at the instance of pope Clement, who had used his pacific endeavours in vain for the last two years.

Lingard remarks that, in an age which valued no merit but that of arms, Europe would have been plunged in perpetual war, had not pope after pope laboured incessantly for the preservation or restoration of peace.

The victories of Creci and Nevil's Cross had stamped the reputation of the English, and raised their sovereign to the first rank among the princes of Europe. David, king of Scots, and Charles de Blois, duke of Bretagne, were his prisoners; and to his possessions he had added the town and barbour of Calais, an important station for his navy, and a convenient opening into the territory of his rival. But these victories had been purchased, it was said, with the blood of fifty thousand Englishmen. The memory of this loss was, however, nearly obliterated by a destructive pestilence which, shortly after, visited the island. It was first discovered in the empire of Cathai: thence it proceeded through different provinces of Asia to the Delta and the banks of the Nile; a south wind transported it into Greece and the Grecian islands; from whence it swept the coasts of the Mediterranean, depopulated Italy, and crossed the barrier of the Alps into France. A succession of earthquakes, which shook the continent of Europe from Calahria to the north of Poland, ushered in the fatal year 1348: and though England escaped that calamity, it was deluged from June to December with almost incessant torrents of rain. In August the plague made its appearance at Dorchester: in November it reached London, and then proceeded northward. Of its victims many expired in the course of six hours, and few lingered more than two or three days. From man, the exterminating malady extended to the brute creation; the carcases lay scattered in the fields, untouched by birds of prey; and their putrefaction aided the malignity of the disorder. The labours of husbandry were neglected; no courts of justice were opened; the parliament was prorogued; and men, intent only on their own safety, fled from the air of the infected, and slighted every call of honour, duty, and humanity. All the cemeteries in London were soon filled; and sir Walter Manny purchased, for a public burial place, a field of thirteen acres, where the Charter-house now stands. It was observed, that though the malady assailed the English who were in Ireland, it spared the natives. The Scots, too, were exempt for several months; but the infection afterwards penetrated into the farthest recesses of Scotland.

The consequences of the mortality were felt through all ranks in society. The piety of the age attributed this severe visitation to the anger of the Almighty: all embraced the opportunity to inveigh against the prevailing extravagance of dress, the silk hoods and party-coloured coats of the men, their deep sleeves, and narrow confined waists, the indecent shortness of their hose, and the ridiculous length of their pointed shoes, the bushy beard before, and the tail of hair behind. " A new sect, calling themselves flagellants, or whippers, affected to know, that the mortality had been sent in punishment of sin, and that they possessed the only means by which the remission of sin could be effected. They first appeared in Hungary: but missionary societies were soon formed, who hastened to impart the knowledge of this new gospel to foreign nations.\ A colony of these fanatics reached England, and landed in London. Each day they assembled at an appointed hour, ranged themselves in two lines,

I moved slowly through the streets, scourging their naked rulders, and chanting a sacred hymn*. At a known signal, with the exception of the last, threw themselves flat on ground. He, as he passed by his companions, gave each ash, and then also lay down. The others followed in succision, till every individual, in his turn, had received a stroke in the whole brotherhood. The citizens gazed and marked, pitied and commended; but they ventured no further. It is missionaries made not a single proselyte, and were combled to return home with the barren satisfaction of having their duty in the face of an unbelieving generation."—
**GARD, vol. iv., p. 93.

Edward, convinced that the French crown lay beyond his ch, offered to exchange his pretensions for the sovereignty the provinces; but the French barons declared they would ver suffer the brightest jewel in the French crown to be rendered, and Edward's indignation urged him again to renewal of arms. His son opened the campaign with an many of sixty thousand men.

From the walls of Bourdeaux the prince led his plunderers, whom he gave the orders to pillage, burn, and destroy. the end of seven weeks they returned laden with spoil! I their commander boasted of having, in that short period, I in ashes more than five hundred cities, towns, and ages, in a populous district which for a century had, been visited by the horrors of war.

Whilst the king of England, and John, son of the French march, were employed in spreading general devastation in neighbourhood of Calais, the Scots surprised Berwick, ured their forces over the borders, and carried their cruel rages through all the northern counties. At the first intelence of this invasion, Edward hastened to England, and rechased from Baliol his rights to the Scottish throne.

L'Evesque has given us the following stanza from one of their hymns.
 Through love of man the Saviour came,
 Through love of man he died;
 He saffered want, reproach, and shame,
 Was scourged and crucified.
 O! think then on thy Saviour's pain,
 And lash the sinner, lash again.

The next year was signalized by the memorable Poitiers. The prince of Wales, who from the cold armour was styled the "Black Prince," left Bourder a small army, his object not being conquest, but to the injuries of war: he overran the fertile province Querei, Limousin, Auvergne, and Berri. The harres trodden under foot; the cattle were slaughtered; the mes and provisions which the army could not consum on a stroyed; the farm-houses, villages, and towns, wall to ashes; and every captive, able to pay his ranson, water ducted to Bourdeaux. Elated with success, the young was unconscious of his danger in penetrating so far in a country, and found, on arriving at Maupertuis, the within five miles of the enemy. The two armies me !! Poitiers, and such was the extraordinary valour of the East that the whole chivalry of France was defeated by a ball of Englishmen; and John became the captive of the whom he had persuaded himself he should enclose " his toils. Having concluded a truce for two years was dauphin of France, prince Edward returned to England landed with John at Sandwich. The royal captive with ceived in London with every mark of honour, which to remind him of his unfortunate situation, and make him the principal ornament in the triumph of his queror.

The battle of Poitiers changed the face of affairs; the king of Scotland, about whose ransom negotiand proved of no avail, now found that his ransom fixed at the price of ninety thousand marks: but the whole of that sum was paid, David died, and mainder of the money was paid to England by his successful.

To adjust the rival claims of the kings of England France was a much more difficult business. By the population, a form of peace, subject to the approbation Edward, had been agreed on at Bourdeaux, before the prissailed with his captive to England: but Edward's demander of the complex solutions of the complex sailed with his captive to England:

with them; and the English king carried his army once more into France.

. Meanwhile the French fleet swept along the English coast, and threw the natives into the greatest confusion. Winchilsea was taken and pillaged: and the barbarities everywhere practised towards the inhabitants, induced men of every profession to arm in defence of their country. When the French retired, the English followed them, and in revenge plundered the small isle of Saints, on the coast of Bretagne. Within a fortnight Edward planted his banner before the gates of Paris. In vain did the papal legates attempt to open a negociation; the two monarchs were alike obstinate. Edward, after wreaking his vengeance by setting the suburbs on fire, decamped, with a threat that he would pay the capital a second visit during the following summer. In the neighbourhood of Chartres the fleeing army was exposed to one of the most dreadful storms recorded in history. A hurricane blew with astonishing fury; and a shower of hailstones fell of such an enormous size that six thousand horses and one thousand men were killed upon the spot; while the canopy of heaven seemed to be rent with the most dreadful peals of thunder. A sense of the miseries occasioned by ambition awakened remorse in the heart of the king; he sprang from his saddle, and, stretching his arms towards the cathedral of Chartres, vowed to God and the Virgin, that he would no longer object to such proposals of peace as were compatible with the preservation of his honour.

The "great peace," as it was emphatically called, was signed by commissioners at Bretagne, and was ratified at Calais. Edward and John knelt together on the platform of the altar in the church of St. Nicholas, and swore by the body of Christ, and the holy gospels, to observe the term of the treaty.

^{*}Froissart gives the following curious account of the baggage of the invading army;—

"The king and his lords were followed by upwards of six thousand carts laden with

bants, pavilions, mills, and forges, to grind their corn, and make shoes for their

horses. Upon these carts were also many ressels and small boats, made of boiled

leather: they were large enough to contain three men, to enable them to fish any lake

er poad, and were of great use to the lords and barons during Lent. The king had, be
sides, thirty falconers on horseback, laden with hawks; sixty couple of strong hounds,

and as many greybounds.

The king of England united all his dominion Loire and the Pyrenees into one principality, and on his eldest son as prince of Aquitaine. The had married his cousin Joan, countess of Kent court at Bourdeaux. It happened that Pedron Castile, surnamed "the cruel," having been d riven having by his subjects, sought the protecting assistance of the and the latter, considering the Castilian as sovereign despoiled of his crown, though Pedrollinia bim covered with the blood of his wife, his three being brothers, and many other innocent victims, raised a mit his defence, and marched at their head, through Part to the frontiers of Castile. At the battle of Navaretta !! proved victorious; he recovered his crown, but failed ap form his engagements for the aid rendered him by the prince Edward, who returned to Bourdeaux with an out treasury, and a shattered constitution.

None of the renunciations stipulated by the peace is tagne had been hitherto fulfilled by either party. This writers attribute the blame to king Edward: the accuse the insincerity of the king of France. The which once distinguished Edward had begun to disand a gradual decay enfeebled his mind and body. the Black Prince, whose very name had formerly spread into every enemy, had brought from Spain a disease! baffled the skill of his physicians. Such was his state of ness that he was unable to mount on horseback; and grown melancholy and morose. Plunged by the bad is Pedro into an abyss of debt, he was no longer able to the expenses of his court, which was the most magnife Europe; and he proposed the imposition of a hearththe five following years; but the lords who skirted of the Pyrenees maintained that this would be a viola their privileges. The prince was obstinate, and the tented barons appealed to their superior lord the France, who had obtained by his wary policy the of "the wise;" he acted with caution and duplicity. appeal was neither received nor rejected; but he

assured the appellants of his protection, and, under various pretexts, contrived to detain the messengers twelve months in his capital, During that period he employed his brother, the duke of Anjou, to foment the discontent of the Poitevins, who had loudly complained of the avarice and arrogance of the English government; and he sent messengers to solicit the aid of don Eurique, who had again displaced his brother Pedro from the throne of Castile. John had returned to England in 1363, to arrange certain difficalties which arose in the adjustment of the treaty of Bretagne: for, said he, " if honour were banished from every other place, it should find an asylum in the breasts of kings." He was well received by king Edward, who gave to him the Savoy for his residence: but he was attacked soon after his arrival with a dangerous illness, and, after lingering a few weeks, he expired, and was succeeded by his son Charles, the present monarch, who now threw off the mask, and summoned the prince of Aquitaine to appear in his court to answer the complaints of his vassals. King Edward, apprehensive of the result, made proposals of concession to Charles, on condition that on his part he should be equally liberal and reasonable. The proposal being referred to the French peers, they advised their sovereign to reply by a denunciation of war. Ponthieu, Poitou, and Guienne, were immediately entered by hostile armies; conquest followed conquest; and at the end of six years, Charles had not only recovered the districts lost by his father, but he had also made himself master of the far greater part of Guienne.

The prince, who lay, with his wife and son, in the castle of Angouleme, a prey to disease and vexation, was roused to action by the near approach of the dukes of Anjou and Berri; he declared that his enemies should find him in the field, and unfurled his standard at Cognac. Among the conquests was Limoges, the capital of Limousin, and which had surrendered through cowardice or treachery. Edward swore, by the soul of his father, that he would punish their ingratitude or perish in the attempt. After a month's exertion a breach was epened into the heart of the city, and the inhabitants, abandon-

ing all hopes of self-defence, threw themselves on the mercy of the prince; but orders were given for the promiscuous massacre of the whole population.

"There was not that day," says Froissart, "a man in Limoges, with a heart so hardened, or so little sense of religion, as not to bewail the unfortunate scene before his eyes. Upwards of three thousand, men, women, and children, were slaughtered. God have mercy on their souls! for they were veritable martyrs."

The French knights who formed the garrison on that occasion displayed so much courage and valour, that the prince, who from his litter was a spectator of the combat, offered life, and the liberty of ransom, to those who might choose to surrender.

By the contemporary writers, the Black Prince is pourtrayed as the mirror of knighthood, the first and greatest of heroes. But the massacre at Limoges has left a foul blot on his memory. His military career now terminated. By the advice of his physicians he returned to England, where he lingered for six years, cheering the gloom which hung over him with the hope that his second son, Richard, (the eldest was dead,) would succeed to the crown. In the year 1374, England retained of her transmarine possessions only Calais, Bourdeaux, Bayonne, and a few places on the Dordogne.

On the death of the Black Prince, which happened in 1376, the commons petitioned the king, that Richard of Bourdeaux, the prince's only surviving son, might be received as the presumptive heir of the crown, and the young prince, who was then in his tenth year, was presented to the two houses by the archbishop of Canterbury. The commons petitioned that he might be declared prince of Wales, but they were checked by the lords, who gave it as their opinion that the grant of such honours "belonged not to the prelates or barons either in or out of parliament, but exclusively to the sovereign, who usually exercised his prerogative on some great festival."

The power of the "good parliament," as it was called, expired with the prince of Wales; many of their petitions were now refused by the king, and the duke of Lancaster

resumed the chief place in the administration. Sir Thomas de la Mare, the speaker of the house of commons, was arrested under false pretences, and imprisoned; and William of Wickham, the celebrated bishop of Winchester, was condemned, without being heard, to lose his temporalities, and to keep himself twenty miles from the king's person. The members of the last parliament were not easily silenced; they insisted on the trial of sir Thomas de la Mare; and the prelates required justice to be done to their colleague, the bishop of Winchester. To intimidate the latter, the duke espoused the defence of Wycliffe, who had been accused of teaching heterodox doctrines; he attended his trial, where it happened that some injurious words, addressed by the duke to Courtenay, bishop of London, excited a considerable feeling of indignation in the audience, and they declared they would protect the prelate, at the hazard of their lives. The next morning the populace quitted the Savoy, which was the duke's palace, and reversed his arms as a traitor. This tumult was followed by a poll tax of one shilling on every beneficed clergyman, and of fourpence on every other individual. mendicants only excepted; and in return the king published a general pardon for all trespasses, &c., because he had completed his jubilee, this being the fiftieth year of his reign.

From this time Edward lived in obscurity at Eltham, abandoned to the care, or mercy, of Alice Perrers. As he grew weaker, she removed with him from Eltham to Shene, but was careful to keep him in ignorance of his approaching dissolution. On the morning of his death, she drew the ring from his finger and departed. The other domestics had separated to plunder the palace: but a priest, who chanced to be on the spot, hastened to the bed of the dying monarch, and bade him prepare himself to appear before his Creator. Edward, who had but just strength to thank him, took a crucifix into his hands, kissed it, wept, and expired. The king married Philippa of Hainault, who died in 1369, and was buried at Westminster. By her he had seven sons and five daughters, of whom three sons and one daughter survived him.

Edward III. was one of the greatest and most accomplished princes that ever filled the English throne, whether considered as a warrior or a legislator. In mental powers he was equal, and in personal acquirements superior, to any of his predecessors. He was strong, well proportioned, and majestic. To the fashionable amusements of hunting and hawking, he preferred the more warlike exercise of the tournament, The astonishing victories which cast so much glory on one period of his reign appear to have dazzled the eyes of his subjects and of foreigners, but the disasters which clouded the evening of his life proved that his ambition was greater than his judgment. Before his death, all his conquests, with the exception of Calais, had slipt from his grasp. By the frequent representations made in the house of commons of the hardships endured by the people, several of the officers were removed during his reign

Among the various grievances of the people none were more offensive to them than that which was called "purveyance. Wherever the king travelled, every horse and carrier on each side of the road was put in requisition for the conveyance of his suite, which often exceeded a thousand persons. In the same manner purveyance was made for the king's table and household: orders were issued wherever he stopped to supply meat, corn, forage, and every article necessary for the support of man and beast; and when it seemed convenient, provisions were seized for the use of the royal garrison, for expeditions, and occasionally for the armies stationed in foreign parts. Though it had been originally intended that full payment should be made to the owners, legal subtleties were employed to elude or delay payment, and the creditor was often compelled, after a fruitless pursuit of several years, to relinquish his claim through lassitude and despair. By successive statutes, a strong barrier was opposed to the extortions and encroachments of purveyors; much also was done at this period to clear the administration of justice from the abuses with which it was polluted. Many of the improvements which we at present enjoy are owing to the pertinacity with which the commons, during this reign, annually repeated

sheir complaints. Of these none proved more generally serviceable than that which ordained that all informations should be laid, and all pleas should be held, in the English language. Another improvement was the statute of treasons, passed in 1351. Until that period the crime was so loosely defined, that the judges claimed the power of creating constructive treasons, and frequently convicted of that offence persons, whose real guilt amounted only to felony or trespass.

The people at this time learned to appreciate the utility of frequent parliaments; as these assemblies offered them protection from the insolence and extortion of the officers of the crown, and repeatedly procured for them the confirmation of their liberties from the sovereign †.

Archery attained its perfection under the Edwards; the victories gained by the English during the reign of Edward III. were considered by contemporary writers as owing to the use of this destructive weapon. Proclamation was made that all persons should practise archery on the holidays, out of the hours of divine service; and every game which might withdraw their attention from that exercise was strictly forbidden.

With regard to the state of the English church during the fourteenth century, the rivalry still existed between the civil and ecclesiastical judicatures, and each continued to accuse the encroachments of the other. The popes, as supreme pastors, continued to require pecuniary aids to enable them to conduct the government of the universal church; and the people, in proportion as they were oppressed with taxes for the wars against Scotland and France, complained of the monies which were also raised towards the support of the court of Rome. The reader will recollect the census of one thousand marks, granted by king John as an acknowledgment that he held the crown in fee of the sovereign pontiff. At the death of Edward I. seventeen thousand marks were due: by

[•] It was however added in the statute, that though causes should be pleaded, shewn, defended, answered, debated, and judged in English, they should be entered and ensalled in Latin.

[†] An account, very interesting to every Englishman, of the form they assumed and the manner in which they were conducted, will be found in Limaard, vol. iv. p. 157.

his son the demand was discharged; and the third Edward imitated the conduct of his father, until he engaged in the project of wresting the crown of France from its possessor. At the return of peace, in 1366, Urban V. demanded the arrears. A reply was given in the name of the king, lords and commons, that the act of John was done without the consent of the realm, and against the tenor of the oath which he had taken at his coronation, and they resolved to resist the claim. Thus the question of the census was set at rest for ever.

About the year 1360, Wycliffe, a new teacher, appeared, who boldly rejected many of the tenets which his countrymen had hitherto revered as sacred. He was then engaged in a fierce and ridiculous controversy with the different orders of the friars, as he maintained that a life of mendicity was repugnant to the precepts of the gospel; and made this distinction, that Christ, though he received, did not ask; while the friars, not content with spontaneous offerings, extorted others by their importunity and falsehoods. By degrees Wycliffe extended his invectives to the whole body of the clergy; and his refractory conduct, and that of his disciples, became subjects of astonishment and complaint. In the last year of Edward, while the parliament was sitting, he was summoned to answer in St. Paul's, before the primate and the bishop of London. A vehement altercation ensued, which has been before alluded to, when the duke of Lancaster with difficulty escaped with his life, and Wycliffe was allowed to depart with a severe reprimand, and an order to be silent for the future on those subjects. In a few days after that meeting the king expired: the sequel of Wycliffe's history will be related under the reign of the next monarch.

As long as the king was surrounded with the splendour of victory, his commands were cheerfully obeyed, and his wants supplied by his obsequious subjects. But when his good fortune began to fail, they freely criticised the measures of his government, blamed his ministers, and with every grant of money wrung from him some new concession. The duke of Lancaster, who, during his brother's illness, and the declining

is father, assumed the reins of administration, became et of public hatred. Sir Thomas de la Mare, speaker ouse of commons, asserted, that if the royal revenue en faithfully administered, there could have been no y for laying additional burdens on the people, and hat the present ministers were unequal to the task of ing the public business: and several of the duke's es were impeached, and others were expelled from the and put under arrest. Alice Perrers, a married woman guished beauty, who had been lady of the bed-chamber n Philippa, obtained such an ascendancy over the aind after the queen's death, as to obtain a grant of the belonging to her deceased mistress, and was allowed ting to dispose of the royal favours. To check her ption, the following ordinance was made:--" Whereas nt has been brought before the king, that some have pursued causes and actions in the king's courts of maintenance, and for hire and reward, which thing es the king, the king forbids that any woman do it r: and in particular Alice Perrers, under the penalty ting all that the said Alice can forfeit, and of being I out of the realm."

rd's admiration of chivalry induced him to establish er of the garter, about the year 1349. "It is probserves our modern historian," that by the garter an was meant to the union which should exist among this; and that the motto was intended as an admothe members to be honourable in mind, as well as 1."

CHAPTER XX.

RICHARD II.

death of Edward III., the crown devolved to his n, Richard II., in right of his father, the late prince of The youth was only in his eleventh year; and as his

father had not had possession of the throne, which, him descended to his son, and as he had three unch the prime of life, some fears were entertained as to tensions which might be opposed to the succession. I tation of the citizens of London waited on the property of the citizens of London waited on the property of the citizens of London waited on the property of the prince did so. His grandfather lay on his death-be advised him to remove and make the Tower him the prince did so. His grandfather died the antient day Richard made his public procession the capital: on which occasion, in consequence of the nation bare him, triumphal arches were erected, were exhibited, and conduits running with wine of the wealth of the citizens *.

His coronation was performed with unprecedented ficence. Sir John Dymock attended as champion, a lord steward, constable, and marshal, rode up and to hall to maintain order, while the king and his count of a splendid, but tumultuous banquet.

The council of regency was formed the next and consisted of the chancellor and treasurer, two manent counsellors, two bishops, two earls, two ban bannerets, and four knights. To the surprise of the duke of Lancaster retired apparently satisfied; had been the ascendancy of his power, it was feared have aimed at the crown for his own head. He had, becured places in the council for several of his cream

The truce between England and France had before the death of Edward. Charles had renew tilities, his fleets insulted the English coasts, and added much to his former conquests. The Isle of W plundered, the town of Hastings was burnt, and I parliament was required to carry on this expensive their first meeting it was seen how much the influence.

[•] In the market of Cheapside was erected a building in the form of a which ran two streams of wine. On its four turrets were four girls of the king. As he approached, they blew towards him small shreds of g showered upon him florins made of paper; and coming down, helped him dants to wine out of cups of gold. To conclude the exhibition, an angel a the summit of the eastle, and offered to the king a golden crown.

neaster had declined, the new speaker of the comsir Peter Mare, the very man he had imprisoned in the proposal to raise an aid for the war, the comited the council of twelve peers, with my lord of duke of Lancaster) at their head. The latter replied, ons had no claim to his advice; they had charged hat which amounted to treason: and he would not ider the imputation, nor apply to any business till er should be cleared. He then called his accusers g, he was ready to meet them, either in single in any way that the king and his peers might t this the prelates and lords arose together, and m: "no mortal living would give credit to such At length the duke suffered himself to be perorget the past, but he required a law to be enacted ere punishment of the inventors of falsehoods. plies, continually renewed to carry on the war in occasioned general discontent. The Scots had truce, and some petty engagements were fought everywhere the result was disappointment to the he jewels of the crown had been pledged to defray es, and still the necessities of the state required and a capitation tax was granted, which graduated o each person's rank and estate. But these means sufficient, it was resolved to impose a tax of three head on every male and female who had attained fifteen. This gave rise to an insurrection which the life of the king, and the very existence of the

period, through different parts of Europe, men longer willing to submit to the impositions of; which spirit of independence had been awakened; of causes, all operating in the same direction, he progressive improvement of society, the gradual knowledge, the increasing pressure of taxation, all, the numerous and lasting wars by which I for a century been convulsed. The faint dawnards and sciences, which then began to revive, had

encouraged the people to pant for better fortune; and the weight of those chains with which the laws, enach the nobility and gentry, had so long and so severly them. Thus were the minds of the populace disposed in the pop

Commissions were issued to different persons to into the conduct of the collectors, in order to ment from those who had been favoured or outside Brentford in Essex, the people refused to answer these commissioners. The men of Kent soon into conduct of their neighbours, and a third party of formed at Gravesend. At Maidstone they appointed tyler of that town, leader of the commons of Kent, with them an itinerant preacher, John Ball, who are for the text of his first sermon before this lawless multuous multitude, the following lines:—

When Adam delved and Eve span, Who was then the gentleman?

He told them that by nature all men were born the distinction of bondage and freedom was the their oppressors, and contrary to the views of there and that when the distinction of ranks was about would be free, because all would be of the same not of equal authority. This discourse was received will of appliause.

By letters and messengers these proceedings as made known through all the neighbouring counties; a few days the flame spread from the southern coast to the Humber. Everywhere the insurgents pillar manors, demolished the houses, and burnt the coant and cut off the heads of every justice, and lawyer, as who fell into their hands. Newgate, and the other proceedings to the Savoy, which had been rebuilt by Henrof Lancaster, and was the most magnificent in Englar plundered and destroyed; they burnt the Temple, whooks and records; and dispatched a party to see house of the knights hospitallers at Clerkenwell.

nent was not their object, they hammered and cut the hich they plundered into small pieces, beat the precones to powder, and finding one of their number had seed a silver cup for his own use, they threw him and see into the river. To every man whom they met, they question, "With whom holdest thou?" and unless he see proper answer, "With king Richard and the comhe was instantly beheaded. But the principal objects cruelty were the natives of Flanders. During a night sense and terror, the princess of Wales, Richard's held a council with the ministers in the Tower, and a on was taken to try the influence of promises and con-

The next morning the king met the insurgents, luced their demands to four: the abolition of slavery; uction of the rent of land to fourpence the acre; the erty of buying and selling in all fairs and markets; eneral pardon for all past offences. A charter to this as engrossed for each parish and township; of which erks were employed to transcribe copies, which being d the next morning, the body retired, bearing the anner, as a token that they were under his protection. ler, and an itinerant, named Straw, who had formed signs, rushed with four hundred men to the Tower, ence the princess escaped to the Wardrobe, a house er Lane, where the king joined her; and the next z, as he rode through Smithfield, he met Tyler at the his party, for he had contemptuously returned three it charters that were sent to him. The rebel boldly to the king, and while he conversed with his majesty, l to play with his dagger, but at last laid his hand upon dle of his sovereign's horse. At the instant, Walworth, d mayor, suspecting his design, plunged a short sword vler's throat; the latter rode a dozen yards, then fell ground, and was dispatched by sir Robert Standish. surgents prepared their bows to revenge their leader. thard, galloping up to the archers, exclaimed: "What, d people," said he, "is the meaning of this com-Be not concerned for the loss of your leader. I am your king. I will become your leader: follow me field, and you shall have whatever you demand."

"Richard's conduct on this occasion," observes considering his youth, gave birth to great expect his favour; but in proportion as he advanced in your gradually vanished." The populace, overawed by sence, implicitly followed the king. He led them fields of Islington to prevent disorder in the city; a having patiently listened to their complaints, he grandemands, and quietly dismissed them.

On the southern coast, the excesses of the i reached to Winchester; on the eastern, to Beve Scarborough. The nobility sought security in their but the only man who behaved with promptitude; lution was Henry Spenser, the young and warlike Norwich, who successively exercised the offices of judge, and priest. In complete armour, he led his to the attack; after the battle, he sat in judgmen prisoners; and before execution he administered to aids of religion. But when Tyler was dead, ar known that the men of Kent and Essex had dispers sands from every quarter poured into London to o services to the king. At the head of forty thousar he published proclamations, revoking the charters of mission which he had granted, commanding the vil perform their usual services, and prohibiting illegal as and associations. In several parts the commons th to renew the horrors of the late tumult; but the di were dismayed by the royal army, and the numercutions which took place in different counties. spirit of resistance was crushed.

When the parliament again met, the two houses formed that the king had revoked the charters of ention, which he had been compelled to grant to the but he submitted to their consideration, whether it mig be wise to abolish the state of bondage altogether. The of the great proprietors were not prepared for the ado so liberal a measure: and they replied, no man could

them of the services of their villains without their cor and neither persuasion nor violence should induce the The commons next presented the result of deliberations, in which they attributed the insurrection causes:-the insolence and extortion of the the rapacity of the royal officers in the chancer exchequer, and the court of king's bench and common p the banditti called maintainers, who set at defiance a provisions of the law; and the aids and taxes which impoverished the people, and proved of no service to To silence these complaints a commission of in was appointed.

Mean while a general pardon was granted to all loyal seets on occasion of the king's marriage with Anne of Boh princess of great accomplishments, and still greater v She was the daughter of the late emperor Charles IV. sister of Winceslaus, king of the Romans. She was remembered by the people under the appellation of " the

queen Appe"

ounties.

While the principal nations of Europe were agitat popular tumults, the Christian world was disturbed b pretensions of two competitors for the papacy. Gregory about seventy years after his predecessors had fixed residence in France, returned to reside in Rome. A death three-fourths of the sacred college were French and the Romans, jealous of their preponderance, dema an Italian pope. To appease them, the archbishop of was chosen, who assumed the name of Urban VI. For months he exercised the pontifical authority without of the interest him but his severity alienated his friends, and irritate enemies: the French cardinals seceded to Anagni; and Fetence that the former election had been made under house influence of terror, another pontiff was chosen, the cardi Genoa, who called himself Clement VII. Clement wa to wedged by France, and its allies, the kings of Sco ether is Sheldged by France, and its allies, the kings of Sco on the second in their obedience to Urban. From Rom pignon, the two pontiffs launched their anathemas preached up crusades against one another. For t purpose, Urban invested the warlike bishop of Norw extraordinary powers: and the king's council encoun plan with the intention of directing the expedition France, and a contract was signed between the king bishop. The first destination of the army was to citizens of Ghent. The prelate took Graveline; Dunkirk, and became master of the coast as in as This commencement would have terminated succession he been assisted as he had reason to expect; but the Lancaster envied the progress of his rival, and detail reinforcements assembled at Dover: so that the his joined only by needy adventurers, who perplexed his and controlled him in the command. He undertook the Ypres ; but at the approach of the king of France, will thousand men, the English, in a state of mutiny, bell the arrival of the enemy. Having returned to English bishop was condemned to lose his temporalities should pay full damages to the king, for having fore the time specified in the contract, which service to the state for twelve months.

From the time of the insurrection, Wycliffe had be to inculcate his doctrine of reform; but as the semon itinerant preachers tended to create discontent, and into contempt the established authorities of church are the rector of Lutterworth was summoned to exploring in the presence of the primate, and of the of London. In his apology Wycliffe was compelled use of quibbles and evasions, which seem unworthy sible, or of an honest man*. This statement, however, the statement is the statement of the primate of the primate of the primate of the primate of the primate, and of the primate, and of the primate of the primate of the primate.

With respect to doctrine, in common with other religious innovators, Well the two-fold privilege of changing his opinions at will, and of being infalling change: and when he found it expedient to hissemble, would so qualify with conditions, or explain them away by distinctions, as to give an innocence to tenets of the most dangerous tendency. His favorable

This extraordinary man was exemplary in his morals; he declained with the freedom and severity of an apostle, but he directed his bitten against the clergy; treating all, with the exception of his itinerant preasured in the properties and the statement of the statement of the collection what he deemed the root of the evil, their worldly possessions; for he collecter what he deemed the root of the evil, their worldly possessions; for he collecter when the deemed the root of the evil, their worldly possessions; for he collecter when the deemed the root of the evil, their worldly possessions; for he collecter when the deemed the root of the evil, their worldly possessions; for he collected when the deemed the root of the evil, the root of the evil.



Exted as orthodox, and its author was dismissed with an to abstain in future from the use of language so calcult to mislead the ignorant. After repeated endeavours to nege the people, the duke of Lancaster advised Wycliffe built to the judgment of his ordinary, to which he rently assented, and read a confession of faith in the presof the primate and the English bishops, and then retired rectory of Lutterworth. Two years afterwards, as he ssisting at the mass of his curate on the feast of the rents, at the moment of the elevation of the host, a stroke plexy deprived him of the use of his tongue, and of this limbs. He lingered two days, and expired on the December, 1384.

Richard had now attained the age of seventeen: the ation and intrepidity he had hitherto displayed, seemed tend a fortunate and glorious reign; and the qualities

heart were recommended by the superior beauty of his a, and the elegance of his manners. We are not informed at cause the change in the king was owing; but, from eriod, his reign presents a succession of errors and misces, which involved him repeatedly in distress, and ulcely cost him his crown and life. At the beginning is reign, the duke of Lancaster was the chief object of cion, and he thought proper to seek an asylum in the ish court, from which he did not return, until the king, reclamation, bore testimony to his innocence, and authorism to travel back to England, with a body-guard for better security of his person. Reports of the duke's yelty were again revived, and during the sitting of the

L. I.

The right of property is founded in grace," seems to have been generated from the amalgamation of feudal and theological notions. He admitted seven sacration to the catholic church in explaining the nature of the eucharist, and tract of matrimony. Of the former he repeatedly teaches, that at the consecrative bread, without ceasing to be bread, 'becomes the very body of Christ, which on the cross: so that the nature of bread is not destroyed, but is exalted into a nature of greater dignity. On matrimony he hazarded several extraordinary opinich amounted to mere verbal quibbles.

Driests who truly preached the gospel were, in his opinion, the real and the only of the hierarchy: all who opposed them were antichrists, and the preachers of Of these he numbered twelve classes, beginning with the pope, and ending with dicant friars.

parliament at Salisbury, a paper, containing the parti a conspiracy to put the crown on his own head, into the king's hands by a Carmelite friar. The di clared and swore the statement was false. The friar pa in his story: he was given to the custody of sir John land, a son of the princess of Wales by her first land sir Thomas Holland, who strangled the friar was hands during the night, and ordered the body this through the streets as that of a traitor. This is did not remove the king's suspicion regarding his mind when the duke returned from his embassy to proarmistice with France, he avoided the plan of arres. ting himself in his strong castle at Pontefract, mill the mother, by repeated journeys and entreaties, effected 1 ciliation between the uncle and nephew, and also of pardon for her son, sir John Holland.

In consequence of a treaty concluded at Paris, he France sent to Scotland an aid of one thousand man the command of Vienne, with a subsidy of form francs in gold, and armour for the equipment of all Scottish knights and esquires. The Frenchmen arrival in Scotland, complained that the country wa the people uncivilized, and that there were no balls, quets, no tournaments: that they could procure coarsest fare, and the jealousy of the natives refuse for their horses, and hourly laid snares for their lives long time only two of the natives, earls Douglas and condescended to visit them; and when they were at troduced to the king, they were shocked with "his no eyes, of the colour of sandal wood, which convinc that he was no warrior." It was the interest of the to commence the campaign immediately; but the manded to be paid for fighting their own battles, forty thousand francs were distributed among then they could be brought into the field. They burst in umberland; but at the approach of Richard wi thousand men, they retired with precipitation.

This was the first time that the young king ha

an army, and the success of his expedition was in unfortunate circumstance which occurred at hat city, or neighbourhood, the son of the earline of the royal favourites, was basely assassinated of sir John Holland. The property of the assassinated, and Richard threatened him with the galver left the sanctuary of St. John of Beverly. In ne unhappy mother died of grief: her guilty son a anger of the king had subsided, then obtained and married Elizabeth, second daughter of the easter.

entered Scotland without opposition; but while my were reducing the principal towns to ashes, eccived that the Scots were ravaging the counties cland and Cumberland; and that Vienne had laid rlisle. The duke of Lancaster advised a march frontiers to intercept the enemy on their return; he night fresh suspicions were infused into the king, by the chancellor, sir Michael de la Pole; t morning he angrily told his uncle, "You, sir, h your men, wherever you think best. I, with eturn to England."—"Then I shall follow you," duke; "for there is not a man in your company u as well as I and my brothers; and if any one dare advance the contrary, I am ready to throw e." The army was disbanded.

tt parliament the king's uncles, the earls of Cam-Buckingham, who had been created dukes of loucester, were invested with the sword, coronet, state, and received a grant of lands from the nting to the yearly value of one thousand pounds. olingbroke, son to the duke of Lancaster, and ntagenet, son to the duke of York, were made by and Rutland; Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, of marquis of Dublin, obtained a grant for life to of Ireland, for which he was to pay yearly into the sum of five thousand marks; and Michael.

tious hopes of his uncle Lancaster, the king declare earl of March, the grandson of Lionel, duke of Clare sumptive heir to the throne.

About this time the duke of Lancaster went to aid of Spain, and concluded a marriage between his dark therine, and Henry the son and heir of the king of let they were created on their marriage, prince and many turias; and their issue reigned over Spain for many contracts.

Richard soon found reason to regret the about duke of Lancaster, whose authority had hitherto charles warmer passions and more precipitate councils of its ther, the duke of Gloucester, who now assumed the ancy, new modelled the government, and left to him little more than the empty title of king. The France couraged by the absence of the army in Spain, formed sign of invading England, and assembled a fleet in the Sluys, so formidable in its numbers as to spread dismay. This opportunity was seized by the bars the guidance of the duke of Gloucester, to plot and selves the overthrow of the administration. currences delayed the invasion to the following year, two parties made an experiment of their strength parliament, which met at Westminster. The lot commons, instead of attending to the king's commin sented a joint petition for the removal of the minist members of the council. A compromise followed; king dismissed the obnoxious ministers, on receiving that none but the chancellor Suffolk should be moles

A bill of impeachment was prepared against the Suffolk, which prosecution deserves to be remembered terity, as it confirmed to the commons the claim of hing the ministers of the crown. The object of the opposition now unfolded itself to be the establishing permanent council, with powers to reform the nation and gave his assent, but refused to extend the duration commission beyond twelve months. At the close is sion, he openly protested against any thing done liament, which might turn to his prejudice, or to

to the liberties and prerogatives of the crown. The commissioners entered upon their office; but no mention is made of frauds discovered, of defaulters punished, or of grievances The earl of Arundel alone reflected a lustre on redressed. the new administration. On different occasions he captured one hundred and sixty sail of vessels richly laden; he relieved the garrison of Brest; he destroyed the ships in the harbour of Sluys, landed his troops, and laid waste the country to the distance of ten leagues. The king, as might have been expected, resolved to emancipate himself from the control of the commissioners; he visited several of the principal towns, and everywhere distinguished his arrival by some act of grace. At Shrewsbury he held a council of the judges, and another at Nottingham; and having desired their reply to certain questions respecting the law of the land, they maintained in their answer, that the commission which had superseded the king in the exercise of the royal authority, was subyersive of the constitution; and further explained the conduct of the opposing party, as traitorous, and deserving of capital. punishment. They affixed their seals to this answer, and promised, on their oaths, to keep it secret; but the next day it was betrayed by sir Roger Fulthorpe to the earl of Kent, and was by him communicated to the duke of Gloucester.

Richard, ignorant of this discovery, prepared for the rememption of the royal authority at the expiration of the time
maketted to the commissioners, and determined to arrest the
intest obnoxious of his opponents, and send them to take their
trials before the judges, who had already given their opinions
on the question of law. The commission was to expire on
the 19th of November: on the 10th Richard was received
in the capital with unusual expressions of joy and respect;
the mayor and principal citizens wearing his livery of white
and crimson.

Hitherto matters had been conducted so secretly, that Richard, who had gone to rest elated with the reception he had received, was astonished the next morning to learn that a numerous army was approaching the capital, under command of the duke of Gloucester and the earls of Arundel and

Nottingham. The object was to compel the king to receive the complaints of the lords appellants, who accused the archbishop of York, Robert de Vere, whom Richard had created duke of Ireland, the earl of Suffolk, sir Robert Tresilian, and sir Nicholas Bramber, of various treasons and misdemeanours. which they exhibited in thirty-nine articles of impeachment These five persons, all favourites of the king, were summoned to appear at Westminster on the following Sunday; but, aware of their danger, they failed to appear, and all endeavoured to quit the kingdom. Meanwhile the lords proceeded to pronounce judgment. The duke of Ireland and the sorl of Suffolk escaped to the continent: the former died at Louvain of the wounds he received in hunting a wild boar in Brabant; the latter was kindly received at Paris, but died of despair before the end of that year. The archbishop passed the remainder of his days in the capacity of a parochial priest in Flanders; but Tresilian was betrayed by a servant, brought before the lords, and hurried away to execution. The next day sir Nicholas Bramber experienced the same fate.

The judges who had given their opinion at Shrewsbury were next impeached of treason, and condemned. Gloucesters thirst of blood being yet unsatisfied, four knights, the earliest and steadlest friends of the king, were impeached as aides and accomplices: one of them, sir Simon Burly, had belonged to the court of Edward III., had been selected as guardian to Richard, and had negotiated the marriage between its sovereign and the present queen. He was attached to the king us to his son, and the king loved and revered him as a father. When Richard solicited of Gloucester to spare him, be received for answer, that "if he meant to keep his crown, he must consent to the execution of this favourite." The queen on her knees seconded the prayer of her husband; but neither her rank, nor her beauty, her tears, nor her entreaties, could soften the heart of the tyrant. For three weeks Richard, by refusing his assent, averted the fate of his friend, but in the end he was beheaded.

The duke of Gloucester no longer concealed his design, Having consulted some clergymen and sages of the law, he with the earls of Arundel and Warwick, and the lord Mortimer, "to depose Richard," and take the crown is own custody.

ntimidated monarch retired to the Tower, and they d, under different pretexts, to banish every friend from ence; even his confessor, the bishop of Chichester, was n to approach the royal person.

a long session of one hundred and twenty-two days, onderful parliament," as some called it, but as it was stly called by others, the "merciless parliament," olved. Richard continued for the next twelve months cipher in the hands of the party: one bold action, , dissolved that authority which had been cemented much blood. In a great council, assembled after the king unexpectedly asked his uncle to tell him his 'Your highness," Gloucester replied, " is in your second year." "Then," added the king, "I must be old enough to manage my own concerns. I have ager under the control of tutors than any ward in my ms. I thank ye, my lords, for your past services, but require them any longer." And he followed up the y demanding the seals, and appointing a new treasurer iew chancellor.

king now acted from his own judgment, and for some is administration was tranquil and happy. During ied of apparent tranquillity the claims of the two poncardinal of Geneva, and Urban VI., were canvassed iment; and at the suggestion of the primate and the elates, it was determined to acknowledge Urban as tful head of the church.

e year 1394 Richard lost his consort, who, for her coellent virtues, went by the name of "Good Queen

The king, being inconsolable on that occasion, he ised, in order to dispel his melancholy, to visit Irend taking with him four thousand men at arms and rousand archers, he landed at Waterford with very position. The northern chieftains met him at Droxe e southern attended his deputy, the earl of Notice

ham at Carlow. All did him homege, promised to keep the peace, and submitted to pay a yearly tribute.

The four native kings, O'Nial, O'Connor, O'Brian, and Max Murchard, were instructed in the manners of the English by six Henry Christal*, and received, though with some reluctance, the honour of knighthood, and were feasted at the king's table at Dublin.

Walle Richard was establishing his power in Ireland, he was socienly recalled to England by the conduct of the Lollards, the disciples of Wycliffe. This sect had embraced the opportunity of the king's absence to prepare a petition containing a strange compound of fanaticism and folly, ment as an attack upon the revenues and the discipline of the church, to be presented to the house of commons. It began by stating, that ever since the church had been endowed with world'y possessions, faith, hope, and charity, had been benished from England; and went on to affix libels against the whole body of the clergy. The king returned to London and reprimanded the patrons of the Lollards so severely, that they did not venture to move the subject again in that parliament. The queen having died without issue, those who wished best to their country, seeing that in case of the king's death the intrigues of the dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester would be likely to bring on a civil war, prevailed with Richard to enter into a second marriage. A union between France and England being anxiously desired, ambassadors were sent to Francis with proposals of marriage to Isabella, daughter of Charles VI., a princess now in her eighth year, but who, when she completed her twelfth, was to be at liberty to assent to or dissent from the treaty.

Richard sailed to France to receive the princess, and the kings feasted each other in their pavilions between Ardres and Calais. The marriage ceremony was performed by the

Christal had formerly been made prisoner by a native, a powerful man, who unexpectedly leaped up behind him, embraced him tightly, and urging the horse forward with his heels, fairly carried him off. During his captivity he had learned the Irish issuages, and on that account had now charge of the four kings. His great difficulty was to induce them to dine at a different table from their servants, and to wear breeches, and manufact trimmed with the fur of squirrels.

bishop of Canterbury, and the young queen was afterds crowned with the usual magnificence at Westminster. alliance with France encouraged Richard to think himsecure on the throne; and he now threw off the mask of simulation, and showed himself resolved on executing a eme of vengeance which he had long cherished within his Hitherto he had dissembled, but he had not foren the murders of his favourites, and the insults offered s authority. Of his three uncles, the duke of York alone r forfeited his friendship. Age had chilled the ambition e duke of Lancaster, and latterly the king had greatly red him by legitimatizing his children by Catherine ford, a knight's widow, who had been employed by his «luchess to educate her children, and who had borne him. sons and one daughter. The duke had married her a = interval after the death of his wife Constantia, which Fage was resented as a disgrace by the other princes of ' ood; but Richard approved of it, and raised the eldest who took the name of Beaufort from one of his father's s, to the dignity of earl of Somerset. The duke of cester was still the mover of every intrigue, the soul of faction, that opposed the king's wishes; so that Richmind was perpetually harassed by what he saw and The heard of Gloucester's conduct. He therefore resolved : rid of the prince, and as soon as he had taken this reon it was carried into effect with secresy and despatch. and himself headed the party appointed to apprehend zester, and proceeded to his castle at Pleshy. When uke came out to meet the king, he was delivered to the dy of the earl of Nottingham, earl mareschal, who pred to conduct him to the Tower; instead of which he put On board a ship, sailed with him down the river, and d his prisoner in the castle of Calais, of which he was Overnor.

bill of impeachment was prepared against Thomas, duke Oucester, Richard, earl of Arundel, and Thomas, earl of vick. When the earl mareschal was ordered to bring his ier, the duke of Gloucester, to the bar of the house,

he might reply to the lords who had accused him of treason, an answer was received that "the duke, being in custody in the king's prison at Calais, had there died." The suddenness of the death created a suspicion that he had been murdered. The lords appellants demanded judgment; whereupon the deposition of the duke, as taken by sir William Rickhill during his confinement, was read in parliament, and the duke was declared a traitor, and all his property forfeited to the crown. The archbishop of Canterbury was banished for life, and his temporalities forfeited to the crown. The earl of Warwick was assigned the Isle of Man, in which to pass his exile; and the lord Mortimer had fled, and was outlawed.

Whether Richard's object was security or revenge, the manner in which these prosecutions were conducted was illegal and unjustifiable. At the same time the conduct of the princes of the blood furnishes a strong presumption that there had been something highly criminal or dangerous in the conduct of Gloucester. His nephews, the earls of Somerset and Ruland, were two of his accusers; and his brothers, the dukes of Lancaster and York, joined in his condemnation. On the last day of the session the peers took the oath; but what reliance could be placed on the oaths of men who now violated the oaths they had taken ten years before!

These transactions unfolded to the view of the public the real character of the king, whose contempt for the forms of law, and principles of justice, appalled every man who, on any occasion, had incurred the royal displeasure. Of the original lords appellants, the dukes of Norfolk and Hereford alone remained: they chancing to meet on the road between Brentford and London, a conversation passed between them of a secret nature, which Hereford afterwards repeated. Whether he did it incautiously, or that he purposely betrayed it to Richard, is uncertain: but he received an order to attend the monarch at Haywood; was there charged on his allegiance to communicate to the council the said conversation; and was remanded with an injunction to appear before the parliament, and to submit every particular to the cognizance of that tribunal.

Two days provious to its meeting, the duke of Marabath and attained a general parties for all treasons, mispainious, and officers. He then appeared to prosecute the chike of Norfilk, and embibited in writing a statement of the appearant ion.

The presentings of this parliament were obsequiously submission to the wishes of the king; but the most unconstitutional and of the session was, the investing the committee, which it had been usual to detain for the purpose of hearing and determinings such positions suched been presented and not unswered during the citting of parliament, with power and unthoughts. "These, examine, and determine, all matters and unthoughts with these warmine, and determine, all matters and unthoughts with been moved in presence of the king, with all the distribution thereof?" words of indefinite, and, there-distributed dangerous tendency; under the colour of unbick these munities arrogated to itself-all the powers and dissections of the dutie of Norfolk.

in the What wiftlemen," says -our -modern historian. " loudly antifettined his imposuce, and, bending his knee, said to the things a divident lord, with your leave, if I may answer your speath, Lavy, that Henry of Lancaster is a lier, and in what he Chairmand, and would say, of me, lies like a false traitor as he is,' the same writer, "that These entroversy between the two dukes should be referred to salistic court of shively. As no witnesses could be called. . Implifile truth could not be elicited by confronting the parties, busing resolved to refer the decision to the judgment of God, Bay-trager-offbattle. According to the award, the combatants est Coventry, and entered the lists in presence of the the committee of perliament, and an immense assemmore facults. Hereford made with solemnity the sign of Militarous: Mosfelk.exelsimed, "Ged speed the right." And mystere:proceeding in the usual menner of combat, when harding dwesting down his warder, took, in the language of "the wage, the bettle into his cown hands. The combatants were then conducted back to their seets, and waited in taxious suspense the will of their sovereign." Richard ordered Hereford to quit the kingdom within four months; and to remain in exile for the term of ten years; but declared that he had honourably performed his duty in prosecuting the appeal, till the king had taken the battle into his own hands. The judgment of the duke of Norfolk was more severe: he was also ordered to quit the kingdom, and to go as a pilgrim to the holy land, and to remain in banishment for the rest of his life, in Germany, Hungary, or Bohemia. Hereford went to Paris. Norfolk, after a short residence in Germany, visited Jerusalem, and on his return died at Venice of a broken heart.

Richard now thought that he had conquered all his opponents; but he did not see that in so doing he had forfeited all the popularity which he had earned during the last ten years; and the security in which he indulged hurried him on to other acts of despotism, which inevitably led to his ruin. He raised money by forced loans; he compelled the judges to expound the law according to his own prejudices, or his caprice; and he discovered after the death of his nucle the duke of Lancaster, that the outlawry affected the son, and rendered him incapable of inheriting his father's estates. Henry, the present duke of Lancaster, had long been the idel of the people, and the new injury now offered to their favourite, pointed him out to them as their leader: the whole nation was interested in the event. At this crisis the king was informed that the earl of March had been slain by a party of Irish, and in his eagerness to revenge the loss of his relation, he determined on going to Ireland. Having appointed his uncle, the duke of York, regent, he proceeded to join his army at Milfordhaven, and a few days brought him to the port of Waterford.

While Richard was pursuing the rebellious M'Murchad in Ireland, Bolingbroke, the new duke of Lancaster, arrived in England to recover, he said, the honours and estates of his father. The regent summoned the retainers of the crown to join the royal standard at St. Alban's; but Henry's friends increased so rapidly, that the small body of twenty followers, with whom he had landed, swelled to about sixty thousand

d men. The dukes met in the church of Berkely castle. there sealed the fate of Richard: for the pusillanimous at espoused the cause of Henry. When the king first d the intelligence from his chancellor, sir Stephen Scroop*. a!" exclaimed the monarch, " fair uncle of Lancaster, reward your soul; for had I believed you, this man ld not have injured me. Three times have I pardoned ; this is the fourth offence he has committed." The king accompanied by several thousands of his troops, but s deserted him; and seeing the army disperse, the king on the disguise of a priest, and fled with a few friends to way; but on arriving there, they found only the earl of bury, with one hundred men. Henry despatched the of Northumberland with instructions, by artful speeches promises, to draw Richard out of the fortress, and then ake him his prisoner. When within a short distance of estle, the earl concealed his men, by placing them under k, and appeared at Conway with only five attendants. king readily admitted the earl, who produced a letter Timing conditions, which Richard agreed to: but the p, who was present, proposed that Northumberland d be sworn to the observance of the conditions. Mass accordingly performed: the earl took his oath on the and, "like Judas," says a writer who was present, i ured himself on the body of our Lord."

earl proceeded to Flint, where the king was following, he suddenly exclaimed, "I am betrayed. God of Parassist me! Do you not see banners and pennons in the?" Northumberland met him at the moment, and seizing mg's bridle, said, "I have promised to conduct you to take of Lancaster." Richard, seeing it impossible to e, exclaimed, "May the God on whom you laid your reward you and your accomplices at the last day." reached Flint that evening. The king upbraided himbris indulgence to his present opponent. "Fool that!" said he, "thrice did I save the life of this Henry of aster. Once, my dear uncle, his father, on whom the

Lord have mercy! would have put him to death treason and villany. God of Paradise! I rode all mi save him; and his father delivered him to me, to do wi as I pleased. How true is the saying, that we have greater enemy than the man whom we have present from the gallows! Another time, he drew his swood in the chamber of the queen, on whom God have He was also the accomplice of the duke of Glouce and earl of Arundel: he consented to my murder, to said father, and of all my council. By St. John, I formula it nor would I believe his father, who more than are nounced him deserving of death."

On seeing the approach of his opponent with a eighty thousand men, the king shuddered and well meeting the duke he said, "Fair cousin of Lamour, are right welcome." "My lord," answered the duke come before my time, but I will shew you the reason people complain that, for the space of twenty, are twenty years, you have ruled them rigorously please God, I will help you to govern them become king replied: "Fair cousin, since it pleaseth you is likewise." At Litchfield Richard seized a moment to let himself down from his window; he retaken in the garden. On reaching the capital went through Westminster to the Tower, and, as he along, was greeted with curses and the appellational bastard;" a word of ominous import*.

After several consultations it was resolved to a a solemn renunciation of the royal authority on the Richard, with an act of deposition on the part of the woof parliament. On the day before the session, a dewaited on the captive in the Tower, and reminded him the castle of Conway, while he was perfectly his own he had promised to resign the crown, on account of incompetency to govern,—a statement that is contrain the two eye-witnesses of the interview between the kings.

This alloded to a report which had been spread that he was a Black Prince, but of a canon of Bordeaux.

the castle of Conway. The deputation then prea paper for the king's perusal, in which he was made lve all his subjects from their fealty and allegiance; nunce, of his own accord, all kingly suthority; to redge himself incapable of reigning, and worthy, for t demerits, to be deposed; and to swear, by the hely that he would never act, nor, as far in him lay, by other person to act in opposition to this resignation. In added, as from himself, that, if it were in his to name his successor, he should choose his cousin of er, who was present, and to whom he gave his

is the account of this transaction inserted by the F Henry, in the rolls of parliament. An account, the y of which, some historians have remarked, is liable g suspicion.

next morning the king's resignation was read in the ses of parliament. The coronation oath was then ed it was contended the king had violated the oath; mas Merks, the faithful bishop of Carlisle, arose, and, one of manly defiance, vindicated the character of I; upon which the bishop was taken into custody, ried a prisoner to the abbey of St. Albans, and the possessor was removed from the throne. By the law ession, it belonged to the descendants of Lionel, third Edward III.: their claim had been formerly recogand admitted in parliament. All waited in anxious se, when the duke arose and pronounced the following : "In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, ry of Lancaster, challenge this realm of England, and wn, with all the members and appurtenances, as that I cended by right line of blood, coming from the good ing Henry III., and through that right that God, of ce, hath sent me with help of my kin and of my to recover it; the which realm was in point to lone for default of governance, and undoing of good

ver difficult it might be to understand the grow

on which Henry of Lancaster aspired to the crown object of his challenge was perfectly intelligible. houses admitted it unanimously. The archbishop of terbury now took him by the hand, and led him to theth He knelt for a few minutes in prayer on the steps, and was seated in it by the two archbishops.

Thus ended the reign of Richard II., a prince the the few good qualities he possessed to be debased by his passionate fondness for parade He had no brilliancy of talent, nor strength of interhis misfortunes may probably be traced to the which he ascended the throne; and to the suggested by his friends, to defeat the supposed his uncles, which caused them to refuse submission dictates of a boy, and their neglect compelled him his affections on his ministers and associates. The not destitute of courage is evident from his condest youth; but his despotic notions of government, mination to rule without control, practised by Rate latter part of his reign, suffice to prepare the catastrophe which followed.

CHAPTER XXI.

HENRY IV.

THE new king assumed the name of Henry IV., and having been made ready for his coronation, a prod was issued on the morning of that day, declaring ascended the throne by right of conquest, the resignation Richard in his favour, and as the next male heir of king *." His eldest son, Henry, then in his thirteen was created duke of Cornwall, prince of Wales, and Chester. His son Thomas, only eleven years old steward; constituting Thomas Percy, earl of Word

^{*} LYTTLETON, History of England, vol. ii. p. 4.

He was crowned with great solemnity, and with ial ceremonies, with this addition, that the sword he hen he landed at Ravenspurn, was borne naked on his ad by the earl of Northumberland*. As the members new parliament were the same individuals who sat in t, they continued equally obsequious to the will of the The earl of March, the real claimant to the 1 throne, was in his seventh year, and was kept, with nger brother, in confinement, in the castle of Windsor, r to prevent the recurrence of vindictive proceedings, useful statues were enacted. One confined the guilt on to the offences enumerated in the act of Edward III.: hers equally tending to the welfare of the subject. days after the coronation the archbishop of Canternd the earl of Northumberland brought a message ie king, asking advice respecting the treatment of the I monarch. The king proposed his imprisonment for ed the lords advised his being conducted secretly to astle, where no concourse of people could assemble. ttempt being made by the five lords appellants in the gn, to re-instate Richard on the throne, and one of the ators having traitorously made the matter known to the unfortunate noblemen were beheaded, and the 3 scheme sealed the death of the captive monarch. efore the end of the third month of his confinement. own to have expired in the castle of Pontefract. The I belief was that Richard had been starved to death by of Henry, and that he lingered fifteen days before he d. In whatever manner he died, Henry's agents conthe truth with such fidelity that it could never be disd. That the reader may learn the barbarous manner ch executions for treason were conducted at that period, resented with an account of the death of sir Thomas , one of the conspirators in the beginning of this reign, LINGARD, vol. iv, p. 381. "He was hanged; but the

arl received the Isle of Man, which had belonged to sir William le Sere tshire, in fee for himself and his heirs, for the service of carrying this we at and all future coronations,

halter was soon cut, and he was made to sit on before a great fire, and the executioner came with a his hand, and knelt before sir Thomas, whose han tied, begging him to pardon his death, as he must office. Sir Thomas asked: 'Are you the person w to deliver me from this world?' The executions 'Yes, sir, I pray you pardon me.' And sir To him, and pardoned him his death. The execut down and opened his belly, and cut out his bone from below his stomach, and tied them with a the wind of the heart should not escape, and bowels into the fire. Then sir Thomas was sitted the fire, his belly open, and his bowels burning his Sir Thomas Erpyngham, the king's chamberlain Blount, said to him in derision, 'Go seek a master in cure you.' Blount only answered: 'Te Deum Blessed be the day in which I was born, and this day, for I shall die in the service of me lord, the noble king Richard.' The executioner before him, kissed him in an humble manner, and his head was cut off, and he was quartered."

Henry signalized the commencement of his an expedition to Scotland; but it proved a used inglorious expedition—except to afford the king an of exhibiting a moderation unknown in the annals of warfare. From humanity, or policy, he laboured to the horrors of invasion: by granting his protected who asked it; and the royal banner displayed in steeple of the church, or the turret of the castle, the village and its inhabitants from the violence and of the soldiers.

Meanwhile the war raged on the borders of the war. The Scottish earl of March had done homage to Hondirected the inroads of the Percies into Scotland; earl of Douglas had retaliated by making similar into Northumberland. On Holyrood day was been decisive battle. The Scots, headed by Douglas, and hill of Homildon; the English, led by the daked

his son Henry Percy, surnamed Hotspur, and the March, were on the opposite eminence. Douglas. : flower of the Scottish nobility, were made prisoners: English won a complete victory by the archers he English men at arms not having occasion to e sword. The next year was signalized by the rebelhe Percies; the very party whose exertions had fixed on the throne, now wished to displace the usurper. they were assisted by the Welsh chieftain, Owen r; but Henry intercepted the progress of the insurappearing with his army in Shrewsbury, just as the ame in sight of its walls. Having thus prevented ction with the Welsh, Hotspur retired to Hartlefield, hence the confederates, according to the laws of sent the king a defiance, which was preserved by r, who was in the service of Hotspur. In this int, printed from the Harleian MS. 42., the Percies ced Henry false and perjured; it concludes thus: ese reasons we do mortally defy thee, and thy accommd adherents, as traitors and subverters of the comlth and kingdom, and invaders, oppressors, and s of the rights of the true and direct heir of England ince; and we intend to prove it this day by force with the aid of Almightv God."

r replied, that he would prove by the sword that the of the Percies was false and feigned; and the next was fought the battle of Shrewsbury, which is one nost obstinate and bloody recorded in history. In the two armies were nearly equal. The king made is of peace, which were rejected, and the air resounded adverse shouts of "St. George," and "Esperance

Hotspur was slain, and his father, the duke of mberland, surrendered afterwards to Henry at York, ie was left in honourable custody to plead his cause ext parliament; when the lords sentenced him to pay the king's pleasure; but, on the earl swearing fealty and to the king's sons, he obtained a full remission and penalties.

In the beginning of the following year the widow lord Spenser undertook to liberate from confineme young earl of March and his brother. By means of keys she conducted them out of the castle of Windson hurried them away towards the frontiers of Wales, alarm was given, and the fugitives were re-conducted former apartment.

Much discontent prevailed at this period, and Falconbery, with three other knights in Cleveland, in arms against Henry, but were soon dispersed John, the king's third son. At the same time to accusation against the king were fixed on the churches in York and the neighbourhood.

During this insurrection the good archbishop Some was an enthusiastic defender of the claim of the March, suffered as a traitor, and acquired among and the reputation of a martyr. Henry, aware that punishment of an archbishop would have been great difficulties, appointed sir William Fulthro that occasion. Sir William, without any form of nounced sentence of death, which was instantly execution. The act so enraged the pope, that help a sentence of excommunication against all who we cerned in the death of the archbishop Scroop; but h far satisfied his successor, Clement VII., that he rem interdict. After many unsuccessful attempts on the the insurgents, the earl of Northumberland, who, it had been restored to his estates, had been deprive offices of constable and warden of the marshes, again joined the rebellious party, fell in a contest of ham moor. But there yet remained one who had power of Henry during the whole of his reign. Owen, commonly called Glendour, who traced his from the last of the native princes of Wales. His perty lay contiguous to that of the lord Grey de Ru the latter, despising the weakness of the Welshm a portion of it to his own. Glendour presented parliament, which was contumeliously rejected wence of his opponent. He therefore seized the first mtunity of the king's absence in Scotland to do himself e by force of arms. Henry resented the attempt as an to his authority. Owen was declared an outlaw by the sh government, and he declared himself the rightful ign of Wales. Adventurers from every quarter of the m enlisted under his standard, and Glendour indulged restoring the independence of his country. Thrice lead a powerful army into Wales, and thrice he By the policy of Glendour. His victories again he king into the field, but the heavens fought in the fthe natives; the valleys were deluged with rain; the as carried away in a storm; and Henry consoled fithat he had heen baffled, not by the conduct, but by the man Cy, of his antagonist. These failures increased the of the chieftain; France assisted him with troops, but mitted the conduct of the war to his eldest son, a ghero, who, by his activity and perseverance, gradually ales; though Glendour himself never submitted, Prived to spin out the contest among the wilds of till long after the accession of the next monarch. Prince Henry was not actively employed in military e plunged into all the vices and follies of youth. one of his associates was arraigned for felony, the periously demanded his release; and when Gasbe chief judge, refused his request, the youth drew e chief Juage, refused and the prince in the prince in the prince in the the king's bench, and the young Henry submitted the king s bench, and the king, he conder. When the incident was related to the king, he Happy the monarch who possesses a judge so in the discharge of his duty, and a son so willing to the authority of the law." The prince often occathe aumority of the factor from an eagerness, it was supto obtain the crown. Wishing one day to exculpate duct from the aspersion, the king received him in his in the presence of four friends. The youth was disin a gown of blue silk or damask, wrought full of holes, and at every oylet the needle wherewith it was made, banging still by the silk; and about his am he a dog's collar set full of S. S. of gold, and the tirets of same were also of fine gold. Throwing himself on his li and presenting a dagger to his father, he besough li deprive him of life, since he had deprived him of the favour. The king raised him up and embraced his Henry had reached his forty-sixth year, he box all the symptoms of declining age: a succession fits was hurrying him to the grave. In one dis when he lay to all appearance dead, the prince another room the crown, which, according to been laid on a cushion by the bed-side. The king to himself, sternly asked who had borne it awaits the report of the guards, required the immediate of the prince. Pacified by his dutiful expression him with a sigh, "Alas! fair son, what right the crown, when you know your father had now liege," answered the young Henry, " with the won it, and with the sword I will keep it." After the king faintly replied, "Well, do as you think" leave the issue to God, and hope he will have ment soul *." His last fit seized him while he was po-St. Edward's chapel at Westminster. He was carried the abbot's chamber, and quietly expired on the March, 1413, and in the fourteenth year of his reign

During this reign the house of commons graw granto importance; it addressed the sovereign with grandom, and pushed its inquiries into every department administration. A particular account of their election immunities, and their proceedings, will be found in Loriginal work, vol. iv. p. 430.

The spirit of Wycliffe had lost nothing of its origin rity by transfusion into the breasts of his successor itinerant preachers still declaimed against the rid luxury, and the vices, of the clergy; calling them me shepherds, whose object was to shear the flock here.

^{*} It is not improbable that this story was framed by the friends of -Lingarp, note, vol. iv. p. 429.



it to perdition hereafter; the usurpers of the patrimony of he poor, and of the revenues of the kingdom; the real cause if the taxes voted by the parliament, and, consequently, of he poverty felt by the lower classes. The king announced is determination to preserve the liberties of the church, and an act was passed for its protection, and for the suppression of the Lollards. William Sawtre, who aspited to the crown of martyrdom, fell a victim to his own felly : he was unhapally burnt to death, and the commone, by their speaker; returned thanks to the king, that, whereas "by bad doetrine the faith of holy church was on the point of being everturned, to the destruction of the king and kingdom, he had made and ordained a just remedy, to the destruction of such doctrine and the pursuers thereof." This severity did not, however, subdue the boldness of the preachers, who continued their animosity against the temperalities of the clergy, until the lay proprietors became alarmed for the security of their own possessions.

Henry IV. possessed many qualities which rendered his usurpation salutary to England at that period, for he had prudence, vigilance, and foresight, which he exercised with great judgment in the maintenance of his regal power; but the unensiness with which he bore his greatness, often renders him an object of pity to the reflecting reader. He left by his first marriage with Mary de Bohun four soms; Henry, who succeeded him on the throne; Thomas, duke of Clarence; John, duke of Bedford; and Humphrey, duke of Gloucester: also two daughters, Blanche, married to the duke of Bavaria; and Philippa, married to Eric, king of Donmark. Henry's second wife Jane, daughter of the king of Navarre, brought

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CHAPTER XXII.

HENRY V.

THOUGH the earl of March, the lineal heir to the throw, as living at the period of Henry the Fourth's death, the parts ment did not hesitate to confer the crown upon the disease of the late monarch, in whom the nation had diseased, and the follies of his youth, gleams of generosity at the courage, which caused them to hope for a glorious at manimous reign.

As soon as his father expired, Henry of Monmonton drew into his closet, and there spent the hours in program prayer until the evening, when he conversed with its fessor, a recluse in the church of Westminster, by what was confirmed in his resolution to atone for the scand file past, by the propriety of his subsequent, conduct, have of justice he set at liberty the earl of March; and street time he restored the son of Hotspur to the loss of estates of the Percies; and when the remains of training tunate Richard were removed by his orders from Lange Westminster Abbey, he testified his respect by appearing chief mourner in the funeral procession, and caused the corps to be splendidly entombed.

The Lollards at this period had so greatly increase number as to provoke investigation by their menseing duct, and it was discovered that sir John Oldcastle, Cobham, was their patron and leader. His castle of ling had long been the head quarters of the teachers of lardism. As he had formerly been a favourite companion the king, the monarch undertook the task of working conversion, but the disciple's obstinacy soon exhausted patience of the master; the king began to enforce his ments with threats, and Oldcastle thought it best to draw from Windsor to his residence at Cowling. His was followed by a royal proclamation, which caused his surrender to a military force, and he was confined to the primate, but the contract of the primate, but the primate of the primate, but the primate of the primate, but the primate of the primat

tained that the church had ceased to teach the doctrine of the Gospel from the moment that it became infected with the poison of worldly riches; that the clergy were the antichrist; that the pope was the head, the bishops and prelates the limbs, and the religious orders the tail of the beast; and that the only true successor of St. Peter was he who most faithfully practised the virtues of St. Peter. Oldcastle contrived to escape from the Tower, and though many of his accomplices were secured, condemned, and executed, he eluded the pursuit of his enemies for four years; he was then hanged as a traitor, and his body was burned on a gibbet.

To the aspiring mind of Henry, the situation of France, distracted by internal commotions and divided interests, offered an alluring prospect. He determined to revive his claim to the French throne, and to tread in the footsteps of his great grandfather Edward III. He demanded the crown, with all its appurtenances, as the heir of Isabella, daughter of Philip IV. The conditions proposed by Henry were discarded by the French government as improper even to form the subject of discussion; but when all the preparations were completed for Henry to invade France, his visions of conquest and glory were disturbed by a conspiracy against his life, which had been formed in the bosom of his own family and household. The ringleader was his cousin Richard earl of Cambridge, and his accomplices, sir Thomas Grey of Heton, a Northumbrian knight, and the lord Scroop of Masham. They had for their object to proclaim the earl of March rightful heir to the crown. As soon as the trial and execution of the conspirators were concluded, Henry resumed preparations for his departure; and, having sailed from Southampton, made a rapid voyage, and entered the mouth of the Seine with a fleet of fifteen hundred sail, carrying six thousand men at arms, and twenty-four thousand archers,

He reduced the strong fortress of Harfleur, and then proteeded through an hostile country to Calais; and having arfived at Maisoncelles, from whence they perceived the French army marching in the direction of Agincourt, both parties prepared for battle. "As the king rode from banner to banner exhorting the men, he chanced to hear an officer opers a wish to his comrade that some of the good knight who were sitting idle in England, might by a mirade he transported to the field of battle. 'No,' exclaimed here I would not have a single man more. If God give we victory, it will be plain that we owe it to his goodness he do not, the fewer we are, the less will be the less to me country. But fight with your usual courage, and God and the justice of our cause will protect us. Before with the price of our enemies shall be humbled in the dust; and the greater part of that multitude shall be stretched on the or captives in our power."—Lingard, vol. v., p. 24.

When all was prepared, a fearful disparity appears point of number; while the English files were only four. French were thirty, men deep. However, the first, and third divisions of the French were defeated; the manders of those divisions, the dukes of Brabant, Brass Alençon, were slain; and ten thousand dead bodies are interred at the expense of the count of Charolois.

Those which it was possible to recognise were the nearest churches, or conveyed to the tombs of the cestors. The rest were deposited in deep pits, dug in field of battle. This vast cemetery was surrounded by a closure of thorns and trees, which pointed out to success generations the spot, where the resolution of a few Engineer triumphed over their numerous enemies.

In a council held at Calais, it was maintained that to by granting the victory of Agincourt to Henry, had sufficient providence would hereafter furnish him with the opportunof again seeking, and ultimately recovering, his inheritable sailed to Dover, where the crowd plunged into the matter to meet him, and carried the conqueror in their arms, is his vessel to the beach.

In the following spring Henry received a visit from simund, king of the Romans, and emperor elect. This pinhad laboured to extinguish the schism occasioned by pretenders to the papacy; and he undertook this risk

ope of reconciling the monarchs of France and Eng-

resence and exhertations of William of Bavaria, the of Holland, and the count of Hainault. The king with lends held a congress at Calais, where they were met duke of Burgundy. Henry had returned to England, was preparing for a second expedition to France, when udden death of the dauphin dissolved all their plans; uke of Burgundy charged his opponents, the Armagnac, with having administered poison to the young prince; the marched to Paris at the head of a numerous army, at ame time that Henry landed without opposition on the of Normandy.

ie nobles were detained in Paris to oppose the Burgau,, and fortress after fortress submitted to the invaders.
French government made: no attempt to oppose Henry e field, but solicited a peace or an armistice. Henry ed to grant either, except on condition that Catherine, laughter of Charles, should become his wife, and that hould be declared his ascessor in the event of his

hile Heary was employed in the conquest of Normandy, He attempt: was made to deprive him of England. In: quence of a secret understanding between the Soottish et and the chiefs of the Lollards, the duke of Albany he earl Douglas crossed the borders, and leid siege to ick and Roxburgh; but when they heard that the dukes: edford and Exeter were approaching, at the head of a: red thousand men, they disbanded their armies. At the time sir John Oldcastle emerged from his concealment, he retreat of the Scots defeated all his projects. He I tried to elude his enemies by flight, but was taken in the hes of Wales. St. Giles's Fields, which had been the re of his rebellion, was that of his punishment. By his sans he would have been revered as a martyr, had not. aith been staggered and scandalized by the non-accoment of a prophecy, which he was said to have uttered:

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at the gallows, that he should rise from the grave on the

In the spring Henry had resumed his victorious career; the whole of Lower Normandy was reduced to his arms, and he sought, by the distribution of favours and the suppression of grievances, to attach the natives to his government. A Paris, the count Armagnac, several ladies and bishops, the lords of the council, the officers of the treasur, and the members of the parliament, were thrown into confinement by the leaders of the Burgundians, who goaded the passes of the populace to a state of madness; and on the night of the 12th of June sixty thousand persons assembled is broke open the gaols, and, without distinction of mile or sex, guilt or innocence, massacred all the printer Charles III., and only surviving son of the king, escaped the care of Tannegui du Chastel, who took him out of bed, and carried him to a place of safety. France was vided into two separate governments; the queen with duke of Burgundy, having possession of the king possession exercised the royal authority in Paris; while the opposition tion proclaimed the young dauphin regent of the kingline Proposals from both parties were made to Henry, but ! dismissed the negotiators, saying, that "Charles from " infirmity, and the duke from his inferior rank as a new were equally incapable of disposing of the territories bear ing to the French crown."

Henry proceeded with the war, and laid siege to Rouencapital of Upper Normandy. The natural and artificial stress
of the place, with the number and courage of the games
rendered it unlikely that Rouen could be reduced by fine
though it might be starved into submission. The latter may
was adopted, and Guy de Boutellier had the command of
defence; the siege lasted for six months, but during the
ten weeks of that time the inhabitants had no other means
subsistence than reptiles and weeds. It was calculated
fifty thousand fell victims to famine and disease. The
vivors, by a trusty messenger to the French court, destheir sufferings, and solicited a relief; to which a fulls.

fallacious, answer was returned, and a fixed day a .ced for heir deliverance. the ws every eye glistened with hope. The da it P ed, and no deliverer appeared. The despair at length subdued the obstinacy of the governo dered, the other fortresses followed the examp and the Normans submitted to wear the re inguishing badge of the English nation *. se factions still continued irreconcileable, at n recourse to a separate negotiation with Hem asked a personal interview. A square plot Meulant, with the mast of a ship erected in the ated the spot where the two kings were to mee at on the appointed day the king of France su ss of his disorder; the young prince did n pointment, but the queen Isabella, with h herine, and the duke of Burgundy, met Henr first time the king saw his destined bride: sl eraceful, and beautiful; and though he strove could not conceal, his emotions from the inqu the mother, who, to increase the king's passic ce of her daughter, withdrew Catherine from the conferences. To the conditions proposed l ministers of Charles brought forward eight d the part of their own sovereign. After a mon Prolonged conferences, Henry found that the appoin Meulant was but a feint; and that the real nego R was carried on between the dauphin and the duke by the secret agency of madame de Giac. The bound themselves by oath to forget their former quarre to mite their forces against their common enemy, the of England. Nothing could exceed the disappointment of Henry; bi expected revolution placed one of the factions at h Posal. and involved the other in calamity and disgrac

was remarked, as something very singular, that when the king made his outs, he was followed by a page mounted on a spirited charger, and bear the tail of a fox, attached to the head of a spear.

This was the murder of the duke of Burgundy by Tamer du Chastel, in the presence of the dauphin, who mis repeated asseverations that he had been kept in ignorance the design till it was carried into execution. This track event excited but one general feeling of detestation and in ror; every other interest was forgotten in the louder or revenge on the murderers. Henry was not slow to make the price at which he would consent to be the ministral their vengeance, or rather of his own ambition. Herand the hand of the princess Catherine, the regency of the dom during the life of the king, and the succession crown at his death. Blinded by passion and person terest, the queen and duke Philip, the son and her bear signified their assent.

The "perpetual peace" was then ratified by Isabeh Philip, as commissioners for Charles, and the minds two crowns was celebrated with every demonstrational. The royal marriage of Henry with the daughter dies took place at Troyes, and at the approach distant kings, with their queens, made their triumphal Paris. Charles had summoned the three estates, and all long speech exposed to them the reasons which had long him to conclude a "final and perpetual peace" with les son, the king of England. He left for their inspecial copy of the treaty, which, in a few days, was returned their unanimous approbation. In this assembly appeared duke of Burgundy. He demanded justice against the sins of his father, and Charles pronounced the judgment which the perpetrators of the deed were declared high treason, without, however, specifying any one by From Paris Henry proceeded with his queen to England, at London Catherine was crowned with unparalleled nificence. Henry had left his brother, the duke of Clare to act as his lieutenant in Normandy; and he undertool lay waste the county of Anjou, which still recognise authority of the dauphin. In this enterprise the duke opposed by an army of the natives, assisted by sere sand Scots, under the earls of Buchan and Wigner,

produced brass very bang could burn Henry by family capitate m his f branche lard Stuart of Darnley. At the battle of Barije the duke of Clarence was slain, and the victory so raised the fame of the Scots, that their general was appointed by the lamphin constable of France.

Revenge and vexation speedily recalled Henry to the thease of war. Anxious to wreak his vengeance on the men who had slain his brother, the king procured the ministers of his esentment from Scotland. Archibald, earl Douglas, for an manuity of two hundred pounds, contracted to serve him having his life, with two hundred men at arms and two hunleed foot soldiers; and James, the young king of Scotland, ho had spent sixteen years in captivity in England, on a prowise that he should revisit his own country within three months after his return, consented to accompany the expedition in the character of a volunteer. He probably was not isware of the object of Henry,-who indulged a hope, that hose Scots who were in the pay of the dauphin would not tenture to fight against their native sovereign. In this he ras disappointed; but the presence of James afforded him i pretext to gratify his revenge; and every Scot taken in sens was immediately executed as a traitor.

The king landed at Calais, paid a visit to his father-in-law the Bois de Vincennes, and then, returning to the army, frove the dauphin from the walls of Chartres. Thence he rocceeded to Paris, paid his court to the Parisians, and probabled to the siege of Meaux. Its commander, the celement bastard of Vaurus, had often swept the country to the very gates of Paris, and was accustomed, on his return, to the on a particular tree every prisoner who would not, or would not, pay the ransom which he demanded.

During five months the town withstood the attempts of themy and his father-in-law, but at length it was compelled famine to surrender at discretion. The governor was despitated. His banner, surmounted with his head, was fixed his favourite tree, and his trunk suspended from one of its surches. A few persons who were accused as participators the murder of the duke of Burgundy, were sent to be tried the parliament at Paris.

ensemble the musen had been delivered of a son, who veril the name of his father, Henry. As soon as Me refused, she business with her child, in the company mile of Bedford, to join Henry at the Bois de Vines at this time a secret mulade which the king had affe espise", buffled the skill of his physicians. He had be aken the siege of Cosne, but the failure of his strengers lered him unable to proceed, and at Corbeil to resigned command of the army to his brother, the dule of Bo # 30 , and returned to the Bois de Vincennes, where the pig sail sass as of his disorder soon extinguished every hope of his a sind to so ery. On the day of his death he called to his balailett abla-bad e of Bedford, the earl of Warwick, and four other wildon zadto . To their loyalty he recommended his wife and bas stive the and then appointed the earl of Warwick tutor to of 70101 see, and the dake of Gloucester guardian of the kingbynist and conjugat them to cultivate the friendship of the duling sells to grandy and to offer him the regency of France; : 3500277 which he refuse its acceptance, to give it to his hit viel zirl of Bedford. The issue of the war, he observed, w boyrs hands of God; but he forbade them, whatever 75 vojsk open, to release from captivity the French prince od, during the minority of his son; or to conclusion ace with the dauphin, unless Normandy were ceded ereignty to the crown of England. On being told he had only two hours to live, Here his confessor, and devoted the remaining moment ises of devotion. While the assistants around his ed the penitential psalms, he interrupted them at the ge of the fifty-first psalm, "Build thou the walls em," and said, that it had always been his inter

e last day of August, in the year 1422.

The exterior appearance of this great prince was every pleasing and attracting. In his private habits he may

it Palestine, and free the holy city from the yoke racens. He expired soon after this exercise of devot some

affable, polite, and gentlemanly; liberal without profusion, and indulgent to those he honoured with his friendship withtout weakness. He maintained the most perfect harmony with his parliament; and his abilities gained him equal admitted as in the field. He was beloved by the lower classes, both in France and England, for his care to enforce the equal administration of justice, and for the protection which he afforded them against the oppression of their superiors.

By military men he was greatly beloved; and the officers of the army in France resolved to prove the sincerity of the sttachment they had professed for him while living, by the extraordinary pomp with which they paid the last duties to his remains. On the funeral car, and under a rich canopy of silk, was placed a bed of crimson and gold, on which reposed the effigy of the king in his robes, with a crown of gold on the head, the sceptre in the right hand, and the globe and pross in the left. It was preceded and followed by five hundred knights and esquires in black armour, with their spears reversed. Around the corpse walked three hundred torchbearers, intermixed with persons bearing achievements, bauners, and pennons. The clergy of every district through which the procession passed were arranged in lines on each side; and behind rode the nobility, the princes of the blood, and the king of Scots as chief mourner. After these, at the distance of a league, followed queen Catherine and a numerous retinue. In this manner the body of the king was conveyed to Paris and Rouen, where it lay in state; and from Rouen, by short journeys, to Calais, where a fleet was in waiting to transport it to England. As the procession approached the metropolis it was met by the bishops, the mitred abbots, and the clergy; and the obsequies were performed in the presence of the whole parliament, first in St. Paul's, and then in Westminster Abbey. The corpse was interred near the shrine of Edward the Confessor; and the queen, to pexpetuate the memory of so illustrious a consort, placed upon 'his tomb his statue, bearing a strong resemblance of himlarge as the life.

Henry left only one son, about nine months old at the time of his father's death. Catherine, Henry's widow, married welsh gentleman, sir Owen Tudor, by whom she had the sons.

We find that the schism in the papacy, which begut # the death of Gregory XI., after a lapse of forty years, all continued to excite considerable interest, and to divide and agitate the nations of Europe. To Urban, one of the onginal competitors, had succeeded Boniface IX., Innocent VII. and Gregory XII.; and to his rival Clement, Benedict XIII. who were the tiara for the long period of thirty years The efforts of princes and prelates proving ineffectual to put on the schism, the cardinals of the two parties at length and in a council at Pisa pronounced a sentence of deposite on both the competitors; and Peter, a Greek, was nised by the papacy by the name of Alexander V. But Gregory in Benedict disputed the authority of the council, and Employer saw three pontiffs contending for the chair of St. Pets. In exertions of the emperor Sigismund prevailed on Join All. who was the successor of Alexander, to call the come Constance. In this assembly Gregory resigned, and the fusal of John and Benedict to copy his example, was followed by a solemn sentence of deposition against John. To stability to the election, six persons from each of the five tions of Italy, Germany, England, France, and Spain, enter the conclave; and at the nomination of the bishop of Lo don, the cardinal Colonna was unanimously chosen s assumed the name of Martin V. This schism gave a shall to the temporal authority of the pontiffs, from which it were recovered.

In England the duration of the schism had allowed a statutes against provisors to be executed with little opportion. Experience, however, shewed that they operated at way which had never been contemplated—to the depression of learning, and the deterioration of the universities; which evil continued so to increase, that, sixteen years later, it tracted the notice of the commons, who, to preserve the versities from utter destruction, petitioned the king that

statutes against provisors might be repealed, or an adequate remedy be provided. The truth is, that the persons who chiefly suffered from the practice of provisions, and who most profited by the statutes against them, were the higher orders of the clergy. These, as their right of presentation invaded by the exercise of the papal claim, had originally Provoked complaints; and now they were ready to submit to minor sacrifice, rather than allow the repeal of the statutes, secured to them the influence of patronage, and dieded them from the interference of the pontiffs*.

CHAPTER XXIII.

HENRY VI.

the death of Henry V. was known, the parliament to make the necessary arrangement during the in-Len admir istration of his son, in whose name, under the title of were issued. Regardthe different summonses were issued. Regardof the verbal appointments made by the late king, they verbal appointments made of the realm be dulte of regent with respect to the realm church of England," investing the duke of Gloucester ignity during the absence of his brother. The care he infant prince was committed to his great uncle, Henry bishop of Winchester. The lords next proceeded to chancellor, treasurer, and keeper of the privy seal, and sixteen members of the council; and notified these nominations to the commons, who gave their assent.

The French monarch survived Henry only a short period, his death gave to the English interest a shock, from ich it never recovered; as the obedience and affection of

[.] Lingard takes occasion to notice a singular assertion of Hume at the close of his 19th that " the first commission of array which we meet with, was issued by Henry V. when the feudal militia gave place to one which was still less orderly and re-The fact is, that such commissions were usual in every reign, since Henry II.—

the French nobility reverted to the dauphin, the real representative of their native monarchs. He now assumed the insignia of royalty, with the title of Charles VII. king of France. Rheims being then in the possession of his enemies, he was anointed and crowned at Chartres.

The duke of Bedford, who had accepted the office of regent from Charles, the late French monarch, did not neglect the interests of his nephew: he, with the dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne, met at Arras; the three princes swore to love each other as brothers, to aid each other against the attacks of their enemies, and to unite their efforts to remove the scourge of war from the soil of France. To cement this friendship, the dukes of Bedford and of Bretagne married each a sister of the duke of Burgundy.

It being now necessary to interrupt the harmony which had existed between France and Scotland, the English ministry proposed to king James to treat with them respecting his release from captivity; and in order to attach him more firmly to their interest, it was wished that he should marry an English princess. The ambassadors were instructed to entertain the subject, if it were opened by the Scots, but not to be the first to suggest it, "because, by the custom of England, it did not become the lady to be the suitor." It was not, however, necessary to urge James by political motives, his affections being already engaged by a beautiful and accomplished woman, Jane, descended by her father, the earl of Somerset from Edward III.; and by her mother, Margaret Holland, from Edward I. He married her before his departure. James proved, as a monarch, a blessing to his country; but his revenue had been so impaired by a long regency, and his people appeared so unwilling to submit to taxation, that he was never able to discharge one third part of the sum stipulated for by the English ministry at the time of his release.

During three years the war in France was suffered to languish, and the operations on both sides were confined to skirmishes and sieges; unimportant in their consequences to the contending parties, but most disastrous to the unfortunate inhabitants. If the regent was inactive through weakness,

Charles was equally so through poverty; and if the court of the latter became a scene of intrigue, dissension, and bloodthed, the council of the king of England was not less divided by the jealousy of its members, their quarrels, and their opposite interests.

Among these the duke of Gloucester bore the greatest sway. though often successfully opposed by Henry Beaufort, the great bishop of Winchester. He was the second son to John of Ghent, by Catherine Swynford, and, consequently, uncle to the protector and his brother, and great uncle to the king. He now filled the office of chancellor. In that situation he had disagreed with the duke of Gloucester, in consequence of his objecting to Gloucester's marriage with Jaqueline of Bavaria. Their quarrel produced a bill of impeachment from Gloucester against his uncle, and the commons conjured the duke of Bedford, and the lords, to reconcile the duke of Gloucester with the bishop of Winchester. There is reason to believe the quarrel originated in the jealousy which Beaufort entertained of the ambition of the duke, who was suspected of a design to render himself independent of the council. reconciliation was, however, effected; but the prelate resigned the seals the next day, and requested permission to travel. The following year he accompanied the duke of Bedford to Calais, and there received intelligence that he had been named a cardinal by pope Martin V., and was invested with the insignia of his dignity in the presence of his nephew and a mmaerous court.

Five years had now elapsed since the death of Henry V., and if no addition had been made to his conquests, at least no considerable loss had been experienced. But in an evil hour it was resolved to cross the Loire, and to attack Charles in the provinces which had always adhered to his cause. The conducting of the expedition was given to Montague, earl of Salisbury, who, next to Warwick, was esteemed the most renowned of the English commanders. The great object was the reduction of Orleans; to defend which the French spared no sacrifice. The castle of Tourelles, which defended the entrance to the bridge, was carried by assault; but a few days

after, as the English commander was reconnoiting, at a window from one of the towers, a shot was fired from the ramparts which wounded him, and caused his death the following week; and the command devolved on the earl of Suffolk.

The siege continued during the winter months, and in the spring the besieged proposed delivering the city into the hands of the duke of Burgundy, to be held neutral for the benefit of the duke of Orleans, who was then a captive in England The regent refused the offer, saying, that what had been were with English blood, should be the reward of English ale The fall of Orleans was confidently expected, and the France monarch meditated a retreat into Provence, when as see pected event revived his hopes. A female in man's atter, attended by two esquires and four servants, arrived # 18 palace, and announced herself as the deliverer of France This extraordinary personage, called Joan d'Are, was country girl, about the age of twenty, some say twenty and had lived as a servant with an innkeeper of the pelly town of Neufchateau in Lorraine. In her former humble occupation she had listened to travellers describing the inst lence of the English, the oppression of her countrymen, the wrongs of her native sovereign. These subjects had the strong hold of her mind, so that her imagination insensi became excited: the enthusiast persuaded herself that if country might yet be saved by the arm of a woman; and last, she fancied that the saints Margaret and Catherine actually commissioned her, in the name of the Almighty, take upon herself the glorious enterprise. With this convictation she applied to Baudricourt, the governor of Vaucouleur, was by him forwarded to Chinon, the residence of Charles III

To most of the courtiers her arrival afforded a subject mirth and ridicule. The council was divided. A few infulgated a hope that there was a supernatural interference; while in prudence of the many foresaw much advantage might be derived from the delusion of the girl, and the superstition of the people—and she was introduced to Charles. "Geodauphin," said she, "I am Joan the maid. My commission

HEREL ... Heaven, to drive your enemies from Orleans, and to heaven, to drive your enemies from Orienne, and the Rheims. There, if you accept of my services, which is your right, the crown of There, if you accept or any service which is your right, the crown of

b thanked her for her zeal, without delivering any the reality of her mission. A thousand stories culated to nourish the public curiosity, and men con-Delieve that which it was so much their interest true.

Public mind had thus been prepared, Charles to acknowledge Joan in her supernatural chabeautiful grey charger, and armed at all points Be rode forth in the view, and amidst the shouts multitude. Before her was borne a banner, in ated, amidst a profusion of fleurs-de-lys, the er the figure of a venerable old man, bearing hais hand. To the spectators her manner apthan human. Insensibly the alarm communitheir neighbours. It was in vain that the earl his officers exerted themselves to check this eling; if she was called an impostor, an appeal the wonders ascribed to her by common report; Presented as a sorceress, the soldiers replied that e spirits of darkness.

ch garrison were in danger of being compelled to om famine, when a convoy for their relief was proois, and the " maid" obtained leave to accompany tion. She was received at Blois as an envoy from 1 ad immediately began the exercise of her superthority. She ordered the soldiers to prepare for the by acts of devotion; expelled all women of loose from the camp; and sent a letter to the earl of Commanding him, under the penalty of the divine tre, to retire from the walls of Orleans. Her first were successful; and the convoy entered the city almost opposition. This established the reputation of Joan; the officers of the garrison resolved to improve the enthusiasm which she had excited, wisely affecting to follow, while in reality they dictated, the inspired advice of the champion.

During the assault of the castle of Tourelles, which optimued fourteen hours, Joan received a wound in the selfrom an arrow, but retiring a few paces, she extracted to weapon with her own hand, staunched the blood, and back to her friends. They redoubled their efforts, as stated was forced, and the banner of the maid waved the over the turrets of the castle.

The earl of Suffolk held a council of war in the will as it was determined to abandon the siege. At dawn the army was discovered at a small distance from the walk on up in battle array, and braving the enemy to fight in open field. After waiting for some hours, the sign regiven: the long line of forts, the fruit of seven months bour, was instantly in flames; and the soldiers, with migrafeelings of shame and regret, turned their backs to be enemy.

It was not the intention of Charles to allow his used leisure to breathe, and the English troops were besigned a Jargeau. The maid of Orleans (as she was now called) the assailants, and reached the top of the wall, from the by a stroke on the head, she was precipitated into the As she lay, unable to rise, she continued to exhort her with her voice. During the assault an unguarded with her voice. During the assault an unguarded with the hundred of the garrison perished, and Suffolk, with remainder of his men, were all made prisoners.

Joan had always declared the object of her mission two-fold,—the liberation of Orleans, and the coronation of king at Rheims. Of these the first had been accomplished and she vehemently exhorted the king to perform the second It was an enterprise of great difficulty; every intermediate fortress being in the possession of the English or the Burgue dians. Victory, however, attended Charles, and the citize of Rheims received him with joy. The coronation was formed; and during the ceremony, the maid, with her bar

infurled, stood by the king's side. As soon as it was over the embraced his feet, declared her mission fulfilled, and with ears solicited his leave to return to her former employment. At his earnest request she consented to remain with the army. soon afterwards she accepted a patent of nobility for herself .nd her relatives, with a pension equal to the income of an During the winter months, when the severity of the eather suspended the operations of war, both parties had ecourse to the means of negotiation. Charles tempted the uke of Burgundy by offering every reasonable satisfaction or the murder of his father; but the influence of his sister, ne duchess of Bedford, fixed the wavering sentiments of the .uke, and he assumed the command of the united army at he commencement of spring. He undertook to reduce the ity of Compeigne, and the maid was selected to raise the iege. On her march she defeated an inferior force of Burundians, and ordered its commander, Franquet, to be beeaded on the spot. On the evening of her arrival she surrised the post of Marigni, but reinforcements pouring in rom every quarter, the assailants turned their backs. The ieroine took the command of the rear guard, and repeatedly acing about, repulsed the pursuers. At last, however, her nen were broken; an archer pulled her from her horse, and is she lay on the ground, she surrendered to the bastard of Tendome. She was conducted to the quarters of John of uxemburgh, and after some months was sold by him to the lake of Bedford.

The unfortunate maid was treated with neglect by her riends, and with cruelty by her enemies. From the moment ther captivity, her services, which had established Charles on he throne of his ancestors, seem to have been forgotten. No mm was offered for her ransom; no attempt was made to lleviate the rigour of her confinement; no notice was taken ther trial and execution. Her enthusiasm had produced he promised effect; and when it was no longer wanted, he jealousy of the French commanders was not displeased the removal of a female and plebeian rival.

The bishop of Beauvais, in whose diocese the maid had

been taken, claimed the right of trying her at his to an accusation of sorcery and imposture. It is generated posed that this claim was made at the suggestion of the of Bedford, who considered her an agent of the deal evident from one of his own letters *.

She was brought to the bar on sixteen different dip. the questions, with her answers, were laid before the micros of Paris. She proudly maintained that she had be the spired minister of the Almighty, and repeated he spired that she was often favoured with visits from the Michael, and the saints Margaret and Catherine. tial observer would have pitied and respected the lusion with which she was afflicted. She was led was prepared for her in the market-place at Rouen, presented in the Rouen, present expectation of a heavenly deliverer forsake her ill the the fire kindled at her feet. Just before the flames her, she was seen embracing a crucifix, and calling for mercy t.

No sooner had Charles been crowned at Rheim duke of Bedford determined that his nephew Henry crowned at the same place. The young king Hen received the regal unction at Westminster in his eight but the poverty of the exchequer delayed his coronation. length the sums necessary for his journey were raised by the cardinal of Winchester accompanied him, and the dubt Gloucester was appointed guardian of the realm in his sence. He proceeded to Rouen; but the prospect de penetrating to Rheims grew fainter every day, and at the of eighteen months it was resolved that he should be cross at Paris. The cardinal of Winchester performed the mony; but no prince of the blood royal of France, not cont the lay peers, not even the duke of Burgundy, graced court of the new king. After a few days, Henry was now ducted to Rouen, and was there at the period of Joan's trail

^{*} A disciple and lyme of the fiende that used fals enchauntments and some -

⁷ July 7th, 1456, her sentence was reversed by the archbishop of Rhems at a superinted to revise it. at the substitute of the substitute o bishop of Paris, whom pope Calixtus had appointed to revise it, at the solutions mother Isabella,

an attempt to surprise him in the castle induced him to en his return to England.

bre duchess of Bedford, whose influence with her husband brother had kept together the discordant materials of the confederacy was composed, died; and the precipitation of the duke with Jaquetta of Luxemburgh hastened solution. This propitious opportunity was employed by misters of Charles to detach the Burgundian from his hally. To remove all difficulties, it was suggested by the of Bourbon and the constable of France, to attempt ral pacification, under the mediation of the pope, as more more father of christian princes.

his proposal Eugenius IV. gladly acceded, and in 1435 ld the congress of Arras, the most important meeting ▶ litical purposes which Europe had then witnessed. The was represented by the cardinal of Santa Croce, and Duncil of Basil by the cardinal of Cyprus. The interests enry were supported by cardinal Beaufort, with twentycolleagues, half French and half English; and Charles · a legation of twenty-nine noblemen and ministers. En-18 came from the kings of Sicily, Norway, Denmark, d Peland; from many of the princes of Germany and aly, and from the cities of Flanders and the Hanse Towns. hen the conference opened, the cardinal of Winchester saw at the cardinals mediators and the Burgundian ministers d been gained by the French, and he withdrew from the ne of negotiation; but peace was a fortnight afterwards claimed between France and Burgundy.

Before the dissolution of the congress at Arras the duke of dford expired at Rouen, and was buried in the cathedral that city; when, some years later, it was suggested to us XI. to remove his bones to a less honourable situation, monarch angrily replied, "I will not war with the remains a prince who was once a match for your fathers and mine; I who, were he now alive, would make the proudest of mamble. Let his ashes rest in peace, and may the Almighty e mercy on his soul.":

o the duke of Bedford succeeded Richard, duke of Yo

as regent: two years after, he was replaced by Beanchin earl of Warwick. Hostilities raged between the two main until both were reduced, by mutual sufferings, (the effects pestilence and famine, with which they were scourged in [430] to adjust their claims, and so reconcile their hitherto contest

ing interests.

King James of Scotland had carefully observed the series years' truce agreed to between the two kingdom prints his restoration. This did not prevent James from the ambassadors of Charles, with whom he reneed to cient league between Scotland and France, and agree 17 his daughter in marriage to the dauphin, as soon as hard should have attained the age of puberty. But as him prevented his offering a portion suitable to his dated rank, he assented to supply an aid of six thousand troops, whenever a fleet for their conveyance should and from France. And, the better to cement their inches Charles gave a grant of Xaintogne and Rochfort to January which the latter engaged to send the first prince distinct of Scotland to perform the accustomed homage to in find monarch. These treaties alarmed the English gorden The cardinal of Winchester obtained an interview with last at Durham; the stipulated auxiliaries never left Some and James renewed the truce with England for five year

It was not long before the French ministry reminded less of his engagements; and lord Scroop, on the part of Engagement asked the hand of the princess for his sovereign. The tish parliament became divided, and both envoys failed the object of their missions. Two years later sir Rd Ogle assisted a Scottish lord against king James, and latter, irritated at this breach of the armistice, demin reparation. But the English repeated the insult by an deayour to intercept the princess of Scotland in her wo the French coast; which intention was frustrated by her ing round the north of Scotland, and so reaching Roche

James summoned every Scot between the ages of s and sixty to join his banner, as he was resolved to s venge with the sword; but when he was near ga Roxburgh he suddenly disbanded his army; for assigned, among other less plausible reasons, that y had received a hint of the conspiracy which deof life within six months after, and of which the explanation is copied from page 137, vol. iv. of

gust James raised the siege of Roxburgh: at Christpaired to his favourite residence in the dominican Perth. On the evening of the 20th of February. ing the voidee, or parting cup, with his company, to his bed-chamber, and as he stood talking with and her attendants, he heard the clash of arms. the danger, he called to the ladies to bolt the door hould escape by the window. Finding the bars too dmit a human body, the king, with the fire-tongs. up one of the boards in an adjoining closet, and let rough the aperture into the privy. The noise prom sir R. Graham, who, with a party of highlanders, I the defences of the monastery. They burst open roke the arm of Catherine Douglas, who attempted them, and wounded the queen, when a voice ex-For shame! look after her husband;' and they ferent directions. James took this opportunity to ladies to draw him out. In the attempt Elizabeth ell through the aperture, and the confusion caused assassins to enter the closet. He informed his asad sir John Hall and his brother leaped below; but in athletic man, seized each in their descent, and rottle them on the floor. Graham sprang to their ; but at the entreaties of James he began to waver; confederates terrified him by their threats, and the nonarch was dispatched with sixteen wounds." succeeded by his son James II., who had just

succeeded by his son James II., who had just his fifth year. One of the first acts of the new the conclusion of a truce with Henry till the year

d during this period exhibited the unusual spectaprincesses marrying into the families of commoners. Catherine, the widow of the last, and the mott present sovereign of France, gave her hand to Tudor, a Welsh gentleman employed about the co Jaquetta of Luxemburgh, widow of the duke of married sir Richard Wydeville, an English knig guished by the extraordinary beauty of his pers husbands were thrown into prison for contempt of prerogative, in marrying tenants of the crown, w royal licence. Wydeville was released, on paying a thousand pounds, and was afterwards created lo Tudor escaped from Newgate, was retaken, and the castle of Wallingford. He had three sons by Edmund, earl of Richmond, Jasper, earl of Peml Owen, a monk in Westminster abbey.

The mutual rivalry between the duke of Glouces uncle the bishop of Winchester, caused an opposite to their views of national polity. The duke was orable advocate of war; the bishop contended vehemence for peace.

· When Beaufort was named by Martin V. car apostolic legate in England, Ireland, and Wales, t gence alarmed the jealousy of archbishop Chichely, to the king, and induced him, by his arguments, to bishop of Winchester to accept the dignity which offered him. Beaufort resigned the chancellorship, tained leave to travel. He was afterwards declared and invested with the habit at Calais, received the Michlin, and was appointed general of the crusaders to oppose the Bohemian Hussites. After Beaufort's England he obtained the royal licence to publish the and to raise an army of five hundred lancers, and f sand archers, for the expedition. But for a brib thousand marks the cardinal consented that the me he had raised for the crusade should be led against t enemies in France; and the council engaged to it him to the pontiff for this breach of his duty*.

[&]quot;I suspect that the whole business was a fraud from the very beginning. T petition to raise men was granted, and the agreement signed on the 18th of

Charles found the crusaders arrayed against France, I mined to the pontiff; who protested his ignorance of I milent transaction, and upbraided the cardinal. The of Beaufort, while it irritated the court of Rome, his popularity in England, so that both houses of I tontended which should heap on him the most hed favours. The duke of Gloucester, finding he exclude his rival from the council by force, sought policy: both the uncle and nephew laboured to their influence by the advancement of their dependencester brought forward Richard, duke of York, were centred the rights of the family of Clarence: and espoused the interest of his nephew, Henry earl, and afterwards duke, of Somerset.

loucester was doomed to experience a cruel disgrace Prosecution of his duchess, dame Eleanor. Roger oke, a chaplain to the duke, was accused of necroand exhibited with the instruments of art to the populace on a platform before St. Paul's, " armarvellous attire," bearing in his right hand a sword. s left a sceptre, and sitting in a chair, on the four of which were fixed four swords, and on the points of ds four images of copper. The second night after libition dame Eleanor secretly withdrew into the y of Westminster. She was confronted with Bolingwho declared that it was at her instigation he had magic. On inquiry, it appeared that Eleanor was a lever in the art; that, to secure the affections of the he had employed love-potions furnished by Margery main, the celebrated witch of Eye; and that, to learn fould be her subsequent lot, (her husband was preve heir to the throne,) she had charged Bolingbroke to r the duration of the king's life. An indictment of was found against Bolingbroke and Southwell, a canon Paul's, as principals, and the duchess was declared an

15th and 16th of the same month, orders had been given to prepare quarters d his army in Kent, and to provide a fleet for their passage to foreign parts, 's service."—Lingand, vol. v., page 146, note 90.

accessary. The two women were arraigned before the a siastical court; Jourdemain was condemned to be burnt. Eleanor was compelled, on three days of the week, to a hoodless, and bearing a lighted taper in her hand, three the streets of the capital; she was afterwards delivered to charge of sir Thomas Stanley, and confined for life, with a annuity of one hundred marks for her support. Sentent died in the Tower before his trial; and Bolingham are victed and executed.

After the king's marriage with Margaret, butter Réné, king of Sicily and Jerusalem, and dukedlist Maine, and Bar, England looked for peace william but Henry's ministers were too busily employed and for power at home to support with vigour the minute terests abroad. The queen soon gained an ascendary the easy mind of her husband; and Suffolk, the favoral them both, gradually supplanted all his colleague all cabinet. The cardinal now seldom appeared of and Gloucester was chiefly employed in opposit and protecting himself against the intrigues of this Suddenly Henry summoned a parliament to me, was usual at Westminster, but at Bury St. Edmund's Tar cautions taken excited surprise, and gave birth to misconjectures. The knights of the shire received on come in arms; the men of Suffolk were arrayed; guards were placed round the king's residence; and placed watched the roads leading to the town. The duke of cester was present at the opening of parliament; like day he was arrested on a charge of high treason; and teen days later was found dead in his bed, without any rior marks of violence: and within six weeks the dukt followed to the grave by his uncle and former comp the cardinal. Lingard remarks, that the notion entertain of Beaufort having expired in the agonies of despair, is tion, which we owe to the imagination of Shakspeare that an eye-witness declared that, during a lingering il he devoted most of his time to religious exercises.

The deaths of the duke and the cardinal remo

the ambition of Richard, duke of York.

The dreams of happiness which Henry enjoyed with his ished queen were disturbed by the murmurs of the people, occasioned by the cession of Anjou and Maine at the his marriage, in order that the queen's father and ight enjoy the revenue of those possessions. But is cession was followed by the loss of Normandy, seven bishoprics and one hundred fortresses, the became more and more incensed: every tongue was bewailing the fallen glory of England, and every sounded with cries of vengeance upon the head of the He was called the queen's minion, who, to please mistress, did not hesitate to betray his sovereign, sacrifice the inheritance of the crown. A parliament moned to provide for the defence of Normandy, when Dews of the loss of Rouen added to the state of general iscontent throughout the kingdom. Such were the accusagainst Suffolk, who had lately been raised to the digaits of cluke, that as soon as the parliament assembled after the Christmas holidays, he rose in his place in the house, and reminded the king of his long services, and those done by his father and others of his family, he said, "I perch your highness, in the most humble wise I can bethink, that if any man will charge me with the report aforesaid, or other thing against your royal person and land, he may come forth, and say to me in these matters what he wills; that, in your presence, my sovereign lord, I may be heard in my excusations and defences reasonable, the which I trust shall be so open and so plain, that your highness and pur land shall be content of me : for God knoweth I am, and shall be, and never was other but true to you, sovereign ord, and to your land."

atever might be the guilt or innocence of Suffolk, it evident his enemies thirsted for his blood; and it been the policy of the court to satisfy them, without endange the duke's life: he was accordingly banished the king-

during the next five years.

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On the day fixed for his departure, Suffolk sailed for Ipswich with two small vessels, and, immediately, the & cholas of the Tower, one of the largest ships in the my, hore down on the duke's vessels. He was ordered on hard and was received by the captain with the ominous salvant of "Welcome, traitor." On the second morning a and boat came alongside, in which were a block, a met smil and an executioner. The duke was lowered into the man, telling him he should die like a knight at a stroke smote off his head. His remains were plant with sands near Dover, and watched by the sheriff of lat the king ordered them to be delivered to his menty whom they were interred in the collegiate church field, in Suffolk. The news of this tragical event the king and queen into the deepest distress; but in it days they were awakened from their sorrow by the which threatened themselves.

This was a crisis most favourable to the view and designing men; and an Irish adventurer, and name was John Cade, but who went under the standard of Mortimer, cousin to the duke of York, (whose eventually proved to be,) unfurled the standard of the in the county of Sussex, whither he was followed, and slain in a garden at Least Alexander Iden.

The duke of York, who hitherto had intrusted his to the care of his friends, now through this a fit seast him to appear on the scene: so leaving his office of ground of Ireland without permission, he hastened to London a retinue of four thousand men. On his road he sent william Tresham, the late speaker in the house of combut sir William was intercepted and murdered. You sued his journey, was introduced to Henry, in whose sence he behaved insolently, and retired to his call Fotheringay. He had scarcely gone when the duked merset returned from France. This nobleman meanest of kin to Henry, and it was hoped that his said services would prove a counterpoise to the minimum and services would prove a counterpoise to the minimum.

Richard. But, unfortunately, he was numbered by the people among those who, by the loss of Normandy, had sold the inheritance of the crown to the enemy.

For several months the nation was agitated by quarrels between the adherents of York and those of Somerset. At length York published a proclamation containing strong professions of loyalty, and offered to swear fealty to Henry on the sacrament before the bishop of Hereford and the earl of Shrewsbury; yet at that very time he was raising forces in the marches of Wales.

The king, at the head of an army, marched against him; the armies, however, did not meet; and an attempt to recover Guienne, under the command of the veteran earl of Shrewsbury, occupied the public mind for the next twelve months, when the birth of a prince raised the drooping of the English—just at the moment that Guienne had again ceded to the French monarch.

But Henry by this time had sunk into a state of mental as well as bodily incapacity. His situation recalled York into the cabinet, where he soon gained the ascendancy over his rival Somerset, and the latter was committed to the Tower. When the parliament again assembled, York opened the secsion under the title of the king's lieutenant. The commons had shewed their steady attachment to Henry, but the duke contrived to throw into prison their speaker, Thomas Thorp. In vain did the commons plead for his release: a new speaker was chosen, and the duke of York was made protector; but the king's malady was only temporary; for about Christmas he recovered his health, and with it his reason. He put an end to the protectorate, liberated the duke of Somerset from the Tower, and earnestly laboured to reconcile the rival dukes; York soon, however, appeared in arms; and at the head of three thousand men he advanced from the marches of Wales to St. Alban's, where he was met by Henry and the royal

of whom he demanded the duke of Somerset and his tes as prisoners. Henry declared, "sooner than any of the lords who were faithful to him, he was it day in their quarrel to live and die." The gates.

were forced, and a sharp contest ensued, in which the royalists fled. Henry was slightly wounded in the neck; he had taken refuge in the house of a tanner, and being now in the hands and at the mercy of his enemies, was compelled to lend his sanction to the very acts by which he had been deprived of his liberty. In parliament he was told that the Yorkists had for their sole object to inform him of the disgraceful practices of his ministers, that their sentiments were purely loyal, and that they were coming to lay their complaints before him in person, when, at the entrance of the town of St. Alban's for that purpose, they were opposed by Somerset, who, in the affray which followed, paid with his life the penalty of his treason. The king, affecting to believe this incredible tale, acquitted York, Warwick, and Salisbury, of all disloyal practices, and granted them a full pardon for all offences committed before the first day of the session. The peers renewed their oath of fealty, and parliament was prorogued. It being rumoured that Henry had relapsed into his former disorder, the session was opened by the duke of York as his lieutenant. The lords conjured the duke to take upon him the charge of the protectorate, which, after much affected humility, he condescended to accept, on condition that it should not be, as before, revokable "at the will of the king, but by the king in parliament, with the advice and assent of the lords spiritual and temporal." Still the powers of government were vested in the council, in which he had previously secured a majority; and the office of chancellor, and the government of Calais, were bestowed on his associates, the earls of Salisbury and Warwick.

The protector now expected to change his present for a higher title; but the meek and inoffensive character of Henry had preserved him faithful friends, and the lofty spirit of the queen lost no opportunity to oppose the plans of the Yorkists. Henry again recovered his health. He proceeded in person to the parliament, the current ran in his favour, and the protector's commission was formally revoked. York descended with apparent willingness from his high station, and the offices of government were again filled by the king's friends.

Two years passed without any material occurrence: the relatives of the lords who were slain at St. Alban's loudly demanded vengeance; and their adversaries surrounded themselves with bands of armed and trusty retainers. Henry, who alone had acted impartially, laboured to mitigate the resentments of both parties, and flattered himself that his endeavours would be crowned with success. By common agreement they all repaired to London: the loyalists were lodged without, the Yorkists within, the walls; and the mayor, at the head of five thousand armed citizens, undertook to preserve the peace. The duke assembled his partisans every morning at the Black Friars; their resolves were communicated to the loyalists, who met at the White Friars every afternoon, and all the proceedings were laid in the evening before the king, at Berkhamstead. At length, as umpire, he pronounced his award, and, in token of the reconciliation, the king, attended by his whole court, walked in procession to St. Paul's; but no external ceremony could extinguish the passions of ambition and revenge which yet lay smouldering in their breasts. The most frivolous pretext caused a renewal of their rancorous feelings, until the dissension was no longer confined to the higher classes; it divided almost every family in the nation; it penetrated into the convents of the monks, and the cottages of the poor. One party maintained that the duke of York was an injured prince, who was trampled under foot by the minions of the court; the other pronounced him a traitor. The duke and his associates solicited the aid of their partisans. The court distributed collars of white swans, the badge of the young prince; and, by letters under the privy seal, invited the king's friends to meet him in arms in the city of Leicester. In the battle of Bloreheath the Yorkists were victorious; but when, afterwards, Trollop, the mareschal of the insurgents, who was really attached to his sovereign, and who had been deceived by his employers, learnt that York intended to wrest the throne from Henry, he departed with his veterans to offer their services to the monarch; at which distrust and consternation instantly ran through the camp, and the confede rate lords fled with precipitation into the heart of Wales, where they separated. The next parliament had for its object to pass an act of attainder against the duke and duchess of York and their children; against the earl and countess of Salisbury, their son, and a few others. When this was read to Henry, he insisted on the addition of a clause, enabling him to dispense with the attainder whenever he thought proper.

In this situation the hopes of the Yorkists rested on the sole exertions of the earl of Warwick, who, by a fatal error, had been permitted to retain the command of the fleet, with

the government of Calais.

Reports having spread that Henry had not assented to the act of attainder, but was still convinced of the innocence of the confederate lords, he was believed to be a reluctant coptive in the hands of a faction. At the same time was circulated an appeal to the nation by the duke of York, enumerating all the grievances under which the people were said to labour; accusing the king of being guided against his own interest; asserting that letters had been sent to the French king to besiege Calais, and to the natives of Ireland to end the English; and declaring that the fugitive lords, as faithful subjects, were ready to prove their innocence before their sovereign. This manifesto was followed by the arrival of Warwick, who, with fifteen hundred men, landed in Kent, a county much attached to the house of York. As he advanced the army increased, some say to forty thousand: London opened its gates; and the earl going to the convecation, asserted his loyalty upon oath; and prevailed on five of the bishops to accompany him, for the purpose of introducing him to his sovereign. Henry had collected his army and advanced to Northampton. The royalists seemed confident of victory, but were betrayed by the lord Grey of Ruthyn, who, instead of defending his post, introduced the Yorkists into the heart of the camp. Henry retired to his tent; while his queen and her son fled towards Chester, and after many adventures arrived in one of the Scottish ports.

The captive monarch was conducted to London, where the

duke of York arrived, and riding to Westminster, passed through the hall into the house, and stood for a short time with his hand upon the throne. He surveyed the assembly, and the primate asked him if he would visit the king, who was in the queen's apartment. "I know no one in this realin," replied York, "who ought not rather to visit me;" and leaving the house he took possession of that part of the palace usually reserved for the use of the king.

This was the first time that the duke had publicly advanced his claims, and he found his hopes checked by the apathy of the parliament and the murmurs of the people; he had therefore recourse to another plan: he stated in writing the foundation of his claim to the crown, as the descendant of Roger Mortimer, great grandson to Lionel, the son of Edward III. To this claim Henry replied, "My father was king,—his father was also king; I have worn the crown forty years from my cradle; you have all sworn fealty to me as your severeign, and your fathers have done the like to my fathers. How, then, can my right be disputed?" In conclusion, he recommended his interests to their loyalty, and commanded them "to search for to find, in as much as in them was, all such things as might be objected and laid against the claim and title of the said duke."

After several debates, in which each lord gave his opinion with apparent freedom, five objections were opposed to the dake's claims. To these his counsel replied at length; which moving done, the lords resolved that the claim of the duke of Ketk could not be defeated; but they refused to dethrone the hing; so "to save their oaths and clear their consciences," they proposed a compromise:—that Henry should possess the cown for the term of his natural life, and that the duke and his heirs should succeed to it after Henry's death. Both parties agreed to this; and on the conclusion of this important affair, the king, with the crown on his head, and attended by the duke as heir apparent, rode in state to make his thanksgiving at St. Paul's.

The interests of his son were still upheld by the queen and the leads, who had always adhered to the house of Lancaster.

The earl of Northumberland, the lords Clifford, Dacres, and Nevil, assembled an army at York; and the duke of Somerset and the earl of Devon joined them with their tenants. This union alarmed the Yorkists, and the two parties fought a battle near Wakefield, in which the duke of York was slain, and two thousand of his men, with most of their leaders were left in the field. The earl of Salisbury was taken during the night, and beheaded the next day at Pontefract; but no one was more lamented than the duke's son, the young earl of Rutland, a boy in his twelfth year. He had fled with his tutor from the conflict, and was met on the bridge of Wakefield, and being asked his name, the tutor, hoping to save him, replied, he was the son of the duke. "Then," exclaimed lord Clifford, "as thy father slew mine, so will I slay thee, and all of thy kin;" and plunging his dagger into the breast of the young prince, bade the twist go and bear the news to the boy's mother.

From this moment the war assumed a new character; the thirst for revenge gave to the combatants of each party a ferocity to which they had hitherto been strangers. Edward, earl of March, and heir to the late duke of York, obtained a bloody victory at Mortimer's cross, near Wigmore: while the queen, with her army, put to flight the men of Kent, and dispersed the Yorkists, in dismay, at St. Alban's: she then, with her son, visited the king in his tent, and thus another unexpected revolution placed Henry at the head of a victorious army; but his soldiers were borderers, who had been allured to the royal standard by the promise of plunder, and they spread themselves around, to pillage the country, when they ought to have marched towards the capital. Henry announced, by proclamation, that his assent to the late award had been extorted by violence; and issued orders for the arrest of Edward, son to the late duke of York. But Edward had united his forces with those of the earl of Warwick, and he entered London with all the pomp of a victorious monarch. The bishop of Exeter harangued the populace in the fields near Clerkenwell, on the unfounded claim and incapacity of Henry, and the just title and the abilities of Edward

The acclamations which followed the speech were considered a proof of the public feeling, and it was resolved in a great council that Henry, by joining the queen's forces, had forfeited the crown to Edward. On this being announced, the prince rede in procession to Westminster hall, where from the throne he explained the rights of his family; he was proclaimed in the usual style by the heralds, in different parts of the city, and thus ended the reign of Henry VI.

. This monarch had swayed the sceptre for more than thirtyeight years, with a character unblemished from any cruel or oppressive conduct; but nature had denied him that health of body and strength of mind which might have enabled him to struggle through the difficulties of his station. He was pious, temperate, compassionate, and charitable; but the weakness of his intellects rendered him irresolute, and easily drawn into such measures as the violence or the selfishness of his advisers proposed. At the age of twenty-three the king married Margaret, the daughter of Réné, king of Sicily and Jerusalem, and duke of Anjou, Maine, and Bar. In personal beauty she was thought superior to most women, in mental capacity equal to most men of the age. landed at Porchester; was married to Henry at Titchfield; was crowned with the usual solemnities at Westminster. Her subsequent conduct proved her to be possessed of a masculine and noble spirit. By her Henry had only one con. Edward, prince of Wales, who, at the time of his father's deposition, was in the eighth year of his age. A recurrence to the proceedings of this reign, as stated by Lingard, vol. v., p. 226, will be found particularly interesting to till who wish to investigate the mode of electing members of parliament, and other principles of our present constitutión.

CHAPTER XXIV.

EDWARD IV.

When Edward assumed the title of king he was strongly opposed by the friends of his rival; and the advantages of the two parties seemed equally balanced, till the victory, obtained by Edward, at Towton, secured the crown upon his head. He was now in his twentieth year; was bold, active, and enterprising; and of so inflexible and severe a temper, that he was not likely to be drawn from the execution of my sanguinary plan, by the feelings of compassion, or the drawd of remorse. As Edward had issued his orders not to give quarter, the routed army was pursued with slaughter and confusion; and that victory cost the nation a deluge of block.

From the scene of carnage Edward hastened to York, and was disappointed not to find Henry there; but he and his family had escaped to the borders, under the protection of the dukes of Somerset and Exeter. Edward then proceeded to London, and was crowned at Westminster with the usual solemnities; at the same time he created his two brothers, George and Richard, dukes of Clarence and Gloucester.

When parliament assembled, both houses, in their eager ness to testify their attachment to their new sovereign, pronounced the reigns of the three late kings a tyrannical userpation; and they enacted a bill of attainder, which extended to almost every man who had favoured the claims of the house of Lancaster.

The cause of the red rose appeared now very despendibut it was still supported by the courage and industry of Margaret, who besides securing the protection of Scotland through the service of the earl of Angus, visited the continent in hopes of obtaining additional aids in the cause of her son. Her confidence was cheered with a temporary gleam of success; but during the winter campaign he spirit and activity exposed her to numerous difficulties. In November part of her treasures, with five hundred foreigness, were shipwrecked off Holy Island; whilst she, with Breze

the seneschal of Normandy, (whom Louis the Eleventh had permitted to follow her fortunes with two thousand men), escaped in a fishing boat. On one occasion, as she was riding secretly with her son and the seneschal, they were surprised in a mountainous district by a party benditti, who despoiled them of their money, jewels, and every other article of value. The ruffians quarrelled about the division of the booty; menaces were uttered, and swords drawn; when Margaret, watching her opportenity, grasped her son by the arm, and plunged with him into the thickest part of the wood. She had not proceeded far when another robber met her. The queen, with the intrepidity of despair, advanced towards him, and taking her sen by the hand, "Friend," said she, "I intrust to your hegalty the son of your king." This address awakened his generosity: he took them under his protection, and conducted them to the quarters of the Lancastrians. Compelled to setire, the queen fixed her residence at Bar, in Lorrain, where she anxiously watched the course of events, and consoled her sorrow with the hope of yet placing her husband or her on the throne. The Lancastrians resolved to try once the fortune of war, and were defeated in a battle at History-moor, and another at Hexham. They who escaped from the latter followed Gray to the strong castle of Bambecough, an impregnable fortress, which might have defled , the efforts of Warwick, had not a wall by accident fallen on the commander; and the garrison, not expecting him to recever, hastened to surrender, without requiring any stipubein in their favour. But Gray was nursed by the victors, and reserved for the more disgraceful death of a traitor. He was taken to the king, at Doncaster, and there received the following sentence from Tiptof, earl of Worcester, and constable of England.

** Sir Ralph Gray, for thy treason the king had ordained that thou shouldst have thy spurs stricken off by the hard heels, by the hand of the master cook, who is here present. Moreover, he had ordained here, as thou mayest see, the kings of arms and heralds, and thy own proper coat of arms,

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which they should tear off thy body, that thou mightest be degraded as well of thy worship, noblesse, and arms, as of the knighthood. . . Notwithstanding the degrading thee of knighthood, and of thine arms, and thy noblesse, the king pardoneth for the sake of thy noble grandfather, who suffered trouble for the king's most noble predecessors. Now, sir Ralph, this shall be thy penance. Thou shalt go on thy feet to the town's end, and there thou shalt be laid down, and drawn to a scaffold made for thee, and thou shalt have thy head smitten off, thy body to be buried in the Friars, and thy head where the king's pleasure shall be." This sentence was immediately executed.—Lingard, vol. v., p. 244.

Henry, who had put himself at the head of a body of eiles and Scots, was so closely pursued in his flight from Hexham, that he very narrowly escaped being made a prisoner. He sought an asylum among the natives of Lancashire and Westmorland, and was frequently concealed in the house of John Machell, at Crackenthorp; but he was at length betrayed by a monk of Abingdon, and was taken by the servant of sir James Harrington, as he sat at dinner in Waddingtonhall, in Yorkshire. At Islington the unfortunate monarch was met by the earl of Warwick, who ordered that no one should shew him any respect, tied his feet to the stirrups as a prisoner, led him thrice round the pillory, and lodged him in the Tower. There he was treated humanely, but kept in rigorous confinement for some years.

After the flight from Hexham the Lancastrians abandoned the contest. Edward concluded a peace with Scotland for fifteen, and afterwards prolonged it for fifty-five years. He was also on terms of amity with almost all the great powers Europe. But it soon became evident that since the battle of Towton the king had given up the management of affairs to the wisdom and activity of the Nevilles, in order that he might resign himself without control to the pursuit of pleasure. It chanced that Edward visited Jaquetta, the duchess of Bedford, and her husband Wydeville, lord Rivers, at Grafton; where seeing their daughter Elizabeth, the relict of sir John Grey, of Groby, a Lancastrian, whose estate had been con-

inted, she besought her sovereign to reverse the attainder her late husband, in favour of her destitute children. The graphited the suppliant, who was distinguished as much for amiable disposition of her mind, as for the remarkable gance and beauty of her person, and that pity soon grew to love.

About the end of April, 1464, when the friends of Henry re assembling in Northumberland, and the earl of Warth was engaged in negotiating a marriage between the grand the princess Bona, of Savoy, sister to the queen France,—the king, following the suggestion of his cantic passion, repaired to Stony-Stratford, whence, by in the morning of the first of May, he stole in great recy to Grafton. The marriage ceremony was performed a priest, in the presence of his clerk, the duchess of Iford, and two female attendants. He spent four days wisits to Grafton, and then returned to London, from nace he purposed joining the army in Yorkshire, but by time he reached the north the victories of Hedgley-rand of Hexham had ended the war.

. Michaelmas the king resolved to make his marriage **bic**, and for this purpose summoned a council of the peers racet in the abbey of Reading. The duke of Clarence - the earl of Warwick introduced Elizabeth to the lords: they, in the presence of the king, acknowledged her as Soon after a second council was held at Westminand an income was settled on her of four thousand marks Her maternal uncle, James of Luxemburgh. righted her coronation in the following summer, and a was devoted to feasting and public rejoicings. The family Zaizabeth became, by her elevation, objects of jealousy to tof the nobility; many of whom saw those plans disconwhich they had formed for the advancement of their own **Even:** and all considered the sudden rise of the new family injury to themselves. Among the most dissatisfied were Vevilles, George, archbishop of York, lord Montague, waxof the east marches of Scotland with the title of earl of Jumberland, and the earl of Warwick, the king's chief minister and general. Hitherto, these noblemen le

governed the king and the kingdom, but Edward had govern weary of their influence, and he listened to the advice of the Wydevilles, who urged him to emancipate himself in a control of his own servants. The king's indifferent tons those friends whose exertions had been exercised by him upon the throne was first made public in iti; from motives of policy, Charles, count of Charles to protect himself from his adversary the king of imale an alliance of marriage with Margaret, Edwil ... During this negotiation Edward received inference Warwick was considered, in the French countil partisan of the house of Lancaster; and thought was afterwards declared groundless, the king shear guard of two hundred archers, who were ordered always on his person. A reconciliation between the the Nevilles was effected through the interference common friends of both families; and when Edmi ducted his sister to the coast, on her way to Fland rode behind the earl of Warwick through the street metropolis. Still the people saw the gathering were inclined to impute the consequences to the quest the ambitious views of her family.

George, duke of Clarence, the king's brother, felt fied at the increasing power of the Wydevilles, and sented himself from the court, preferring the society wick to that of the king. He had formed an attach Isabella, Warwick's daughter; and Edward, award ambition of Warwick, tried to prevent the married ceremony, however, was performed, without his com the church of St. Nicholas at Calais, by the uncle of the the archbishop of York; and it is a singular circum that at the very time when the prelate and his brothers Calais to celebrate this marriage, an insurrection should out in that part where they possessed the greatest it The farmers of Yorkshire resisted the demand of at corn from every plough-land, made by the warden of pital of St. Leonard's. The thrave had been pain

Eking Athelstan; of late it had been refused, and when ers attempted to levy its value by distress, the peasants arms, chose for their leader Robert Hilyard, commonly Robin of Redesdala, and threatened to march to the rand reform the abuses of government. The citizens of were alarmed by the approach of fifteen thousand ins; but the earl of Northumberland, Warwick's brother, and defeated them with considerable slaughter. ≥ader was executed on the field of battle.

rebels, though repulsed, were neither dispersed nor al; they replaced their leader by two others of more al influence, sons of the lords Fitz-Hugh and Latimer. young men obeyed the commands of air John Conyers, experienced officer. The claim of the hospital was en in their avowed object to remove from the king's the Wydevilles, the authors (it was said) of the taxes apoverished, and of the calamities that appressed, the

rard had fixed his hea-dquarters at the castle of Fotherhere the advance of the insurgents, their increasing ers, and their threats of vengeance, created considerable ; and it was resolved the Wydevilles should secrete sives in the country. But, after the battle at Edgecote, ch the insurgents were victorious, earl Rivers and sir Vydeville, the father and brother of Elizabeth, were met orest of Dean, brought to Northampton, and executed. ng was plunged in great distress by these proceedings. mentioned his displeasure to Clarence, Warwick, and o archbishops of York and Canterbury, who visited him ey; but Edward soon perceived that he was their prithey took him to Warwick, whence for greater security removed to Middleham. England now presented the dinary spectacle of two rival kings, each confined in ; Henry in the Tower, Edward in Yorkshire. hrey Nevil, who had fled from the defeat at Hexham. mcealed himself during five years in a cave opening e river Derwent, summoned all the lieges of Edward to the rebels, but they refused to fight, while ignorant c his fate, and sir Humphrey found it necessary to exhibit the king at York. A private treaty was signed after sir Humphrey had defeated the Lancastrians, and Edward repaired to the capital, where his return was hailed by his own friends as little short of a miracle. A council of peers was summoned, and a general pardon was issued. Edward in this assembly asked advice respecting the disposal of his daughter in marriage, a child only four years of age; he proposed giving her to George, the son of the earl of Northumberland, and the presumptive heir to the three Nevils; his choice was approved, and that the young nobleman's rank might approach nearer that of his intended bride, he was created duke of Bedford. The apparent reconciliation which seemed to exist between the king and his courtiers was of short duration. The commons in Lincolnshire rose in arms, under pretext of extortions made by the officers of the household; but, secretly, acting in concert with Clarence and Warwick. Edward attacked the insurgents at Erpingham, in Rutlandshire. His artillery mowed down their ranks; and their leaders, sir Charles Delalaunde and sir Robert Welles, were taken prisoners, and paid the forfeit of their lives. After this premature defeat of the insurgents, Clarence and Warwick acted openly in defiance of the king; they refused the royal permission of obtaining pardon, and were proclaimed traitors. Rewards being offered for their apprehension, they fled more rapidly than Edward could pursue, and by the time the king reached Exeter, the fugitives had sailed for the harbour of Calais, but, to Warwick's astonishment, the batteries of the place opened upon him as he attempted to enter; they therefore, after some deliberation, steered their course towards Normandy, and were received at Harfleur with distinguished honour by the admira of France.

Louis of France invited Clarence and the earl of Warwich to his court at Amboise; where they met Henry's queen, Margaret of Anjou. No two persons had ever inflicted more serious injuries on each other than the earl and that princess; but interest induced them to forget their past cumity. Edward, Margaret's son, married Anne, the second daughter

ck; and it was agreed, that both parties should neir efforts to restore Henry to the throne, and that of issue by the prince, the crown, at his death, volve on the duke of Clarence. The latter, seeing claimant between himself and the object of his found means to convince his brother Edward that, occasion should offer, he would prove himself a ect, and an affectionate kinsman. The incautious if the king at this period is inexplicable. He spent n gallantries and amusements, without making any n to meet, or to avert, the approaching danger; e earl of Warwick and his companions found no a landing, during the interval of a storm, which reed the Burgundian squadron from the mouth of

The exiles, under the protection of a French fleet, cross the channel, and arrived at Plymouth, just as by the artifice of the lord Fitz-Hugh, had been ingo to York, and thus leave the southern counties a invaders.

lon Dr. Gadard preached at St. Paul's cross in favour VI.; while Warwick proclaimed that monarch, and owards Nottingham. The thoughtless king affected e invasion with levity; but the delusion was soon when word was brought him that Warwick conapproach with the utmost expedition: before he his surprise, a second messenger informed him that and men, who had hitherto worn the white rose, e instigation of Montague, thrown away that device, ag their bonnets into the air, had cried, "God bless y." The king, after a short consultation with his ounted his horse, and rode to the town of Lynn, he harbour, with a few noblemen and eight hunrers, embarked for Holland, and was met by the argundy at the Hague.

Elizabeth, finding that the tide of loyalty had turned of Henry, fled with her mother and three danguages. Tower to the sanctuary in Westminster, where the after delivered of a son. Henry was creating.

from the Tower to the bishop's palace; and then in procession, with the crown on his head, to the or St. Paul's. To himself it is doubtful whether this proved a source of joy or regret. He had been the Edward; he was now become the slave of Warwick

By a parliament, summoned in the name of the king, Edward was pronounced an usurper; and all of by his authority were repealed. The conqueron wided for themselves, by the resumption of their form but their triumph was not stained with blood; who suffered was the earl of Worcester, who executing the office of constable had acquirite title of "the butcher."

To no one did this revolution afford greated than to Louis of France. Margaret was received with the same distinction as a queen of France. I ment Henry, a splendid embassy proceeded to be a treaty of peace and commerce for fifteen years the union between the two nations.

The duke of Burgundy, after much considerates the crooked policy of rejecting in public, while het private, the cause of the exile. By proclamation any of his subjects to lend assistance to Edward he made him a present of fifty thousand florins, to large ships to be equipped for his use at Verei and hired fourteen vessels from the Hanse towns him to England.

Edward disembarked at Ravenspur, the very Henry IV. landed to dethrone Richard II.; and the dissimulation and perjury of that monarch: tested he came only to claim the inheritance of his the duke of York; wore in his bonnet an ostrich device of Edward, the Lancastrian prince of Vordered his followers to shout "long live king every village and town through which they passe gates of York, and on the altar of the cathedral, upon oath, in presence of the corporation as his pretensions to the crown. The timidity, in

of activity in his adversaries, will justify a suspicion possessed resources, and was encouraged by premises. h we are ignorant. At Pontefract, though the mar-Lontague had an army sufficiently numerous to overhe invaders, not a sword was drawn to impede or heir progress. At Nottingham Edward saw himself ead of sixty thousand men; he assumed the title of d summoned every loyal subject to hasten to the aid overeign. Here Clarence threw off the mask, and men, who had been raised under a commission from o wear the white rose ever their gorgets. The care pital had been intrusted to the archbishop. On the of the day on which he had conducted Henry, decoth the insignia of revalty, through the streets of the ordered the recorder Worswick to admit Edward by a within the walls.

attle of Barnet proved decisive to the royal claimants: luctuated in the course of the engagement, which I six hours. Warwick was alain, his brother Monid most of the Lancasterian leaders, fell in the field; of Oxford alone escaped, and joining the earl of ie in Wales, still defied the power of the Yorkista. e Edward entered London in triumph, remanded the ite Henry to his cell in the Tower, and resumed the of the sovereign authority. But he was not long I to indulge repose and festivity. The arrival of argaret, with a body of French auxiliaries, again n into the field. The Lancastrian lords once more ut their hopes were soon vanquished; for at the battle esbury the queen and her son were taken prisoners. n was reserved to grace the conqueror's triumph: e was led to his tent, and being asked what had him to England, boldly, but ingenuously, replied, serve my father's crown and my own inheritance." and the barbarity to strike the young prince in the his gauntlet: Clarence and Gloucester, or perhaps ts in their retinue, dispatched him with their swords. as the son lived to claim the crown of his fat

the blood of Henry was not worth the shedding; now the only person whose life gave uneasiness to Edward.

In the morning of the eve of the ascension Edward his entry into London: in the evening of the sm Henry perished in the Tower. It was reported that he hof grief, but the writers who lived under the next dynam only proclaim the murder, but ascribe the black deal advice, if not to the dagger, of the younger of hot brothers, Richard, duke of Gloucester*. By the house of Lancaster Henry was revered at Richard III. apprehensive of the effect that are duced on the public mind, by reports of mirror them was removed his bones from Chertsey to Whenry VII. placed, or intended to place them was tombs of his ancestors in Westminster abbey.

Of the few surviving adherents of Henry, Marqueen, after leaving the Tower, was confined at Winlastly at Wallingford, with a weekly allowance of for the support of herself and her servants. After of five years, she was ransomed by Louis of Francis in 1482, in her own country. Henry Holand, duked and great grandson of John of Ghent, was in the country in 1472, at the time his wife Anne, the thing in 1472, at the time his wife Anne, the the Edward, obtained a divorce and married sir Thomsthe next year his body was found floating in the sea Dover and Calais. Vere, earl of Oxford, collected squadron of twelve sail, with which he kept the counties in perpetual alarm, and by frequent cap

[&]quot;Mr. Laing, in his endeavour to clear the memory of Richard from Henry, attempts to prove that Henry did not die on the evening of the Edward entered London, because, as Malone observes, 'It appears on the Edward entered London, because, as Malone observes, 'It appears on the Edward entered London, because, as Malone observes, 'It appears on the public accounts allowed in the exchequer for the maintenance of Henry Winerous attendants in the Tower, that he lived till the 12th of June. The latest date of any particular of William Sayer for the maintenance of Henry and ten guards for a fortiff he Ilth of May, and of course ending on the day in which the king is sail uried. The mistake arises in Malone having taken the day of the most accounts were allowed at the exchequer, for the day on which the expessed is so far from being the case, that it even belongs to a different possible sa appears from the two next accounts, which, though allowed on the expenses in September and October of 1471."—Langard.

nd his followers. He surprised the fortress hael in Cornwall, but afterwards surrendered that his life and the lives of his followers During the next eleven years, he was prisoner in the castle of Ham; while his o the great Warwick, was obliged to support ofits of her needle, and the secret presents of e archbishop of York had rendered the king ut he did not feel easy on his throne as long ned at liberty. Edward had promised to hunt at the Moor in Hertfordshire. The most parations were made for his reception; all secréted since the death of his brothers had nd all the principal nobility were invited to itertainment. But Edward sent for the preand arrested him on a charge of having lent rl of Oxford. The revenue of his bishoprick late confiscated, his mitre converted into a ewels divided between the king and the prince prelate lingered in prison three years, and is liberty a few weeks before his death, in the ie earls of Pembroke and Richmond were n on the coast of Bretagne, and were proke Francis during the reign of Edward: the them again in England under that of his he other partisans of the house of Lancaster. · hopes were extinguished by the death of on, they condescended to implore the cle-Thus, after the most surprising vicissiwas the head of the house of York seated on England, apparently without a competitor. vho had been born in the sanctuary during d also been named Edward, was now created and earl of Chester, and was recognised as t in a great court of prelates and peers. His e now arose from the insatiate rapacity of , Clarence and Gloucester. Clarence. who wick's eldest developer ------ proposed, by marrying Anne, the relict of the late Wales, to claim for himself a proportionate share.

To defeat the project of his brother, Clarence willow Anne from the pursuit of Gloncester: homouths she was discovered in London, in the cook-maid, and for greater security was conditioned anothery of St. Martin's. Clarence, finding prevent the marriage, swore that Gloucester part the livelihood with him!" All this while the countess of Warwick, was living, but her indisregarded. By act of parliament it was defined doughters should succeed as if their mothers and that if either of them should die before he should continue to enjoy her portion for the terms of the should fife.

Edward turned his attention to the concerns of feers. By the persuasion of the dukes of Burgundy tagne, the English monarch was induced to repeat of his former predecessors to the crown of France, found the nation willing to embark in the romant taking, and the parliament voted supply upon supunprecedented rapidity. But the king obtained an aid by his own ingenuity. He called the more wealthe citizens before him, and requested from each a present the relief of his wants. No one presumed to reject the of his sovereign, and considerable sums were thus profrom the shame, the hopes, or the fears, of the donors.

Though Europe resounded with the reports of the war preparations for invading France, from some accident other the threatened expedition was a long time poster and Edward employed the intermediate space in section the friendship of the king of Scots, by contracting a mar between the duke of Rothsay, the eldest son of James Cicely, his second daughter.

At length Edward proceeded with his army to C

to join him with his troops: but that prince had already ed his resources by an unsuccessful expedition into nany, and arrived in the English camp with only a small ze, and offered the best apology in his power for his kity to fulfil his engagements. In conformity with the of chivalry, Garter king at arms had been dispatched Sandwich to Louis, to make a formal demand of the zh crown. The monarch heard him with composure, him into his closet, expressed much esteem for the exter of Edward, and a sincere desire to live in amity mim. He then put three hundred crowns into the hands merald, and promised him a thousand more on the maion of peace. Won by his liberality and confidence. == advised him to apply to the lord Howard, or the lord Ey, as ministers averse from war, and high in the favour : ir sovereign.

rile Edward lay in his camp ruminating on the unacrable conduct of the Burgundian, a French herald ssed himself to the lords Howard and Stanley, who bused him to the king. The monarch after the interennyoked a council of his officers, and it was determined he should return with his army to England, if Louis d consent to certain conditions, among which was that his eldest son should marry Edward's eldest ther, or, in the event of her death, her sister Mary, is assented to every demand. It was at that time that garet of Anjou was set at liberty, on the payment of thousand crowns from the French monarch, and her if ying a renunciation of all her rights as queen downger Ingland. All remaining differences between the two kings 2 referred to four arbitrators: the cardinal of Canterbury the duke of Clarence on the part of Edward; the archon of Lyons and the count of Dunois on the part of in: who should be bound to pronounce their award in the course of three years. As soon as the conditions been mutually exchanged a bridge was thrown across Somme, at Piquigny, near Amieus, with a grating of i erected in the middle. Here the monarcha met early other, shook hands through the grating, and swore on a missal to observe their engagements.

Though Edward was satisfied, the army and the people in not conceal their disappointment at the unexpected condision of the expedition; and it was evident they only wanted leader to guide their efforts and mature their plans. And that the imposition of new taxes would probably goad them ! insurrection, it became the great object of the king's policy in provide for the expenses of his household, and of the government, without imposing any additional burden on the mine This he effected by various oppressive measure, the touched the middling classes and the clergy, and lead benefits derived from commerce. His ships were freighted with tin, wool, and cloth; and the merchanted the king of England was publicly exposed to sale in the of Italy and Greece. In a short time he became ich men grew insensibly attached to a prince who could the splendour of the throne without making any de the purses of his subjects.

It was not, however, long before an event happened embittered the remainder of Edward's days. Some will incidents had caused Clarence to avoid the society dis king. He lost his wife after the death of her thind about the same time that the duke of Burgundy fell battle of Nanci, and his immense possessions devolute Mary, his only daughter and heir. Clarence solicite hand, and might have succeeded but for the resolute tion of Edward, who was jealous of the power which alliance might give to Clarence. From that moment the thers viewed each other as enemies. It chanced about period that Stacy, a clergyman in Clarence's household Thomas Burdett, a gentleman in his family, were accused magical practices, and after a short trial were condemned executed. Both protested their innocence on the scale Clarence immediately professed himself their champion, the next day Dr. Gadard was introduced by him into council chamber, to depose to their dying declarations. W these particulars were communicated to Edward, he see brother, upbraided him with insulting the administration stice, and, in the presence of the mayor and sheriffs, mitted him to the Tower.

parliament was summoned, and Clarence stood at the of the Lords under a charge of high treason; the king lucing his witnesses, and conducting the prosecution. The were persuaded by the arguments of the royal accuser; ence was found guilty; and the duke of Buckingham, had been appointed high steward for the occasion, pronced on him the sentence of death. About ten days it was announced that the duke had died in the Tower. manner of his death has never been ascertained; but by report was circulated that he had been drowned in a of Malmsey wine.

was a singular but leading feature in the policy of this, that he negotiated marriages for his children almost very moment they were born. In all these premature cts he was disappointed; especially in the intended ace of his daughter Cicely to the son and heir to the king cotland; the frustration of which caused a declaration of between the two kingdoms in 1480, and was very near ing the sceptre of Scotland to pass from the feeble hands ames to the grasp of his brother, the duke of Albany. Conciliation, however, was effected between James and ard, and all the monies advanced on account of the lage portion of Cicely were faithfully repaid to the Engmonarch.

cain Edward met with disappointment in the projected lage of his daughter Elizabeth with the dauphin of ce. It was expected, according to treaty, that when theth had attained her twelfth year, Louis would have for her. Four years passed and she still remained in and; when an unexpected event opened the king's eyes, princess Mary of Burgundy, who had borne her husband thildren, Philip and Margaret, was killed by a fall from corse; and Louis, forgetting the princess Elizabeth, into demanded Margaret in marriage for the dauphing the news reached England, Edward burst into a Particular than the news reached England, Edward burst into a Particular the news reached England.

roxysm of rage. From that moment his thoughts were and his conversation employed, on the readiest mode of flicting vengeance on the perfidy of the king of France whether it was owing to the agitation of his mind, or to debaucheries in which he indulged, a slight allment had been treated with neglect, suddenly exhibited the dangerous symptoms. He spent the few days prompted death in the exercises of religion, and directed that treasures full restitution should be made to all when the wronged, or from whom he had extorted many mane of benevolence. He expired in the twenty his reign.

The king left two sons, Edward, in his twelling succeeded him; and Richard, duke of York, in his tent the latter prince had been married, in his fifth year, where the daughter and heiress to John Mowbray, duked him and thus became entitled to the immense estate of the man. Five of Edward's daughters survived him beth, contracted to the daughin, was married to How Cicely, the destined wife of the prince of Scotland viscount Willes; Anne, promised to Philip of Bury Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk; Catherine, the bride of the infant of Spain, to William Courtenage Devonshire; and Bridget, who became a nun in the of Dartford.

The monument of this monarch stands in the nonnear the high altar, in the new chapel of Windsor, wie been founded by Henry IV.

Edward IV. was elegant in person, and accomplished manners. In youth, when fighting for the throne, always the last to join his adherents; and in manhood firmly seated on it, his ruling passion for pleasure cause to abandon the management of his affairs to the guide others. With much apparent mildness in his social he mixed a strong propensity to cruelty, and entertained dictive feelings of revenge; and he was as suspicious was cruel. Every officer in the employ of governments steward on his farms, acted as a spy on all around.

ution caused every plan of opposition to be frustrated t as soon as it was conceived. In prosperity Edward ed himself entirely to the indulgence of his sensual apse; in adverse circumstances his manly exertions were icuously vigorous and active. A late historian has red up this king's character by observing, that "He was ce of more vigour than prudence; and consequently less to prevent evils by wise precautions than to remedy after they took place."

CHAPTER XXV.

EDWARD V.

state of parties at the close of the last reign will throw amering of light on the dark transactions which followed ath of Edward IV. The ancient nobility, of whom the of Buckingham, lord Hastings, and lord Stanley, may ckoned the principal members, viewed with jealousy esentment the rapid elevation of the queen's relatives, and risen from the condition of knights and esquires to ghest honours and offices in the state. The marquess t, the queen's son by a former marriage, and her broearl Rivers, possessed the first seats at the councill; but they were continually opposed by the lords ings, Howard, and Stanley, particularly the first, whom ard had chosen for the companion of his pleasures. is death-bed the king called them into his chamber. ted them to mutual forgiveness, and commanded them nbrace in his presence. They obeyed with apparent fulness; but the lapse of a few days proved how treaus were these feigned conciliations, which lasted no r than till the son of the late monarch was proclaimed. e title of Edward V.: here their unanimity ended. hard, duke of Gloucester, a prince of insatiable was at the head of the army, and engaged

Scotland at the time of his brother's death; but, on her the intelligence, he repaired to York, with a long to knights and esquires, dressed in mourning, ordered obsequies of the deceased king to be performed with a magnificence in the cathedral, summoned the gentlement the county to swear allegiance to Edward V., and was self the first to set the example. At the same is dispatched letters of condolence to Elizabeth on the her consort, with professions of loyalty to the particular and to offer his friendship to the earl Rivers, and he are the coronation, which was fixed for the 4th of the same that the coronation, which was fixed for the 4th of the same that the coronation, which was fixed for the 4th of the same that the coronation, which was fixed for the 4th of the same that the coronation, which was fixed for the 4th of the same that the coronation is the same that the coronati

At Stony Stratford the young Edward had Ludlow, on his road to the metropolis, at the same his uncle Gloucester had reached Northampton, and he miles distant; upon hearing of which the lords Ring Gray turned back to welcome Gloucester in the name of king, and to submit to his approbation the orders been framed for the royal entry into the metropoli lords then rode in company, and, apparently, in in together, to the entrance of Stony Stratford, when Glorian suddenly accused Rivers and Gray of having estrange him the affections of his nephew; and though they the charge, they were arrested, and conducted into the Sir Thomas Vaughan and sir Richard Hawse well arrested, and all four were conducted to the castle at fract. The queen, with her second son, Richard, h daughters, and the marquess of Dorset, retired in sanctuary at Westminster; and on the 4th of May, Glo conducted his nephew into the capital, riding before hi his head bare, and pointing out the young king to the mations of the citizens. He was lodged, with all the of royalty, in the palace of the bishop, and imm received the fealty and homage of the prelates, lon commoners who were present. A great council ha summoned, and continued to sit during several day the motion of the duke of Buckingham, the king was to the Tower. Gloucester being appointed prothe lofty style of "brother and uncle of kings, proand defensour, gret chamberlayne, constable, and igh admiral of England." While preparations were for the expected coronation, Gloucester was emin maturing his plans; he proceeded, however, with ution and dissimulation which marked his character. designs were but gradually unfolded. The next day this seat at the council in the Tower. After a short he struck his fist upon the table; when a voice at the claimed 'treason,' and a body of armed men burst into Hastings and Stanley, with the prelates of York , men whose attachment to the sons of the late king he ed to subdue, were instantly arrested. The three last onfined in separate cells: Hastings was told to prer immediate execution. It was in vain that he inquired The first priest that offered received his confesnd a piece of timber, which accidentally lay at the door hapel, served for the block on which he was beheaded: amation was issued that same afternoon, announcing estings and his friends had conspired to put to death kes of Gloucester and Buckingham, who had most ously escaped their machinations.

the same day Ratcliffe made himself master of earl, lord Gray, sir Thomas Vaughan, and sir Richard in the castle of Pontefract. To the spectators it was ced that they had been guilty of treason; and, without for judicial forms, their heads were struck off in the ze of the multitude. Two days later the duke of ster sent a letter to the mayor and citizens of York, ng them of the traitorous designs imputed to Elizabeth Wydevilles. Proclamations were issued in the northern s, commanding all men "to rise † and come to Londer the earl of Northumberland and the lord Nevil, it in subduing, correcting, and punishing the quene, de, and other her adherents, who entended to mun-

Rivers was the most accomplished nobleman in England; he united an ** ste for literature to great abilities in business, and valour in the fieldced printing late this country; and by him Caxton was recommended *
f Edward IV.—LYTTLETON, vol. ii. p. 88,
, vol. v. p. 230.

der and destroy the protectour and his cousyn, the d Buckyngham, and the old royal blade of the realm."

Of the late king's two sons, the elder was securely in the Tower; but the younger, who was with his most the sanctuary, the protector resolved to have also at his mercy. Proceeding to Westminster in his barge, he adequated of lords, with the archbishop of Cantery their head, to demand the young prince from his Elizabeth, convinced of the inutility of resistance to acquiesce with cheerfulness: she called for him a last and hasty embrace, and, turning hand into tears. The innocent victim was then contained to the tower.

The protector again had recourse to dissimulate assumed the character of patron and avenger of publication Among the married women who had yielded to the cipled desires of the late Edward, was Jane, the will a young and opulent citizen. From the momental seduction became public, she had been abandon husband, and notwithstanding the inconstancy of life contrived to retain the principal place in his affection time of his death. This woman Richard now singled punishment. Her plate and jewels he appropriated to self; her person he delivered to the ecclesiastical count punished according to the canons. In her kirtle, will feet bare, carrying a lighted taper in her hand, and por by the cross, Shore was compelled to walk through the of the capital. This penance served to direct the attra the public to the dissolute conduct of the late monarch. prepare men for the marvellous scene which was some exhibited. On the next Sunday, Dr. Shaw, brother mayor of London, preached at St. Paul's cross from lowing passage of the Book of Wisdom; " Basialo shall not strike deep roots." Having maintained the dren were seldom permitted to enjoy the fruits of fathers' iniquity, he expatiated largely on the welllibertinism of the late king, and averred that he bady married Elizabeth, the widow of sir John Grey: subsequent period had thought proper to acknowled though he had previously contracted marriage with mor, the relict of the lord Boteler of Sudeley, who, in the of God and man, was the true wife of Edward IV. ice the preacher concluded that Elizabeth could be only sidered as a concubine; and that her children by Edward no legitimate claim to the succession of their father. In-I, he entertained a doubt whether that prince were in ty the son of Richard, duke of York, and real heir to the n. All who had been acquainted with the duke must r that there existed no resemblance between him and ard, "But," he exclaimed, (and at the very moment rotector, as if by accident, passing through the crowd, ed himself from a balcony near the pulpit,) " behold excellent prince, the express image of his noble father, genuine descendant of the house of York; bearing no in the virtues of his mind, than in the features of his tenance, the character of the gallant Richard."

e people hung down their heads in silence. Shaw's >n not having produced the intended effect, on the next Lay the duke of Buckingham harangued the citizens from ustings of the Guild-hall. He took occasion to allude esermon of the last Sunday, and added, that evidently ight to the crown was in Richard, duke of Gloucester, Taly true issue of the duke of York, and that the lords commons of the northern counties had sworn never to it to the rule of a bastard. The following day the duke Ckingham, accompanied by several lords and gentlemen, Shaw, mayor of London, with the principal citizens, deled an audience of Gloucester, and presented an address, b, having been afterwards embodied in an act of parliastill exists for the information of posterity. The object is address being to prove that the protector is the lawful to Richard, late duke of York, found sits statement on a Ontract of matrimony between the late king Edward and Jame Eleanor Boteler, daughter to the old earl of Shrews-, long time before he made the said pretensed marriage the said Elizabeth Gray, "which premises," says th ess, "being true, as in very truth they be true, it th and followeth evidently, that the said king E

during his life, and the said Elizabeth, lived together in and damnably in adultery against the law of God and church. Also it appeareth evidently and followeth, that the issue and children of the said king Edward be based and unable to inherit, or to claim anything by inheritante, the law and custom of England." And thus concludes:

"We humbly desire, pray, and require your noblement that according to this election of us, the three estate land, as by your true inheritance, you will accept all upon you the said crown and royal dignity, will be thereunto annexed and appertaining, as to you and the longing, as well by inheritance as by lawful elem" la protector replied that he was not ambitious, the no charms for him, and that his attachment to the his brother made him wish to preserve the crown that is grace the brows of his nephew. "Sir," returned the Buckingham, "the free people of England will never to the rule of a bastard, and if the lawful heir refuse the they know where to find one who will cheerfully no At these words, Richard affected to pause; and after silence replied, " that it was his duty to obey the voice! people; that since he was the true heir, and had been by the three estates, he assented to their petition, and from that day take upon himself the royal estate, pre-conand kingdom of the two noble realms of England and In the one from that day forward by him and his heirs w the other by God's grace and their good help to get

^{*} Note A, prefixed to the end of Lingard, vol. v., shews that the petition of the protector at Baynard's castle, instead of being the "petition of the larger and temporal, and commous of this realm of England," was purposely winds Stillington, bishop of Bath, and the president of Richard's council, to enable adiainherit his nephews. The leading feature in the petition is the attempt of precontract of marriage between Edward and Eleanor Boteler, which opinion ancient historian has written in favour of it, has been warmly maintained by the writers; Walpole, in his Historic Doubts, and Laing, in a Dissertation at the Henry's History of England.

On this subject, Lingard observes, that for eighteen years the king's many Elizabeth Gray had never been disputed, and that the children by it had been as legitimate by the parliament, the nation, and foreign sovereigns; that so were examined, nor any documents produced, in proof of the allegal though it so much concerned Richard to place the fact beyond the reason the concludes with the following remark. "On the whole, it appears that Elizabeth was the real wife of Edward, and that the precontract that Elizabeth was the real wife of Edward, and that the precontract to justify Richard's usurpation."—Lingand, vol. v. p. 453.

Thus ended this hypocritical farce, which was som followed by one of the most tragical events that has discharged the page of history.

Richard took possession of his usurped inheritance in the st hall Westminster; declaring, as he placed himself on seat, that he chose to begin his reign there, beset the ministration of justice was the first duty of a king.

CHAPTER XXVI.

RICHARD III.

1868 a fortnight from his acceptance of the petition the last chapter, Richard was crowned at Westth his consort Anne, the daughter of the late earl He employed the first days of his reign in acts and clemency; and affecting an extraordinary zeal for the Feformation of manners, he called the lords before him and admonished them to keep the peace in their counties, and to a saist his officers in the apprehension and punishment declaring it was his intention to travel through the kin Som for that purpose. On Richard's arrival at York he was again crowned with his consort in that cathedral. To please the men of the north, among whom he had for some years been popular, the ceremony was performed with the pomp and pageantry which had been exhibited in the But while he was spending his time in apparent at York, the suspicions of the inhabitants in the souther at rork, the suspicions of the counties were freely communicated to each other, then plans were suggested to remove the usurper from the Means were suggested to remove the large and liberate the young princes from their confinement, Meetings and liberate the young princes non management was were privately held, at which a resolution was taken swere privately need, and the hopes of the confederates ally, aised by the unexpected accession of a most powerful the duke of Buckingham, whose sentiments having under the duke of Ducamgnam, masses the crown to

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the young prince, whom he had contributed to dethrone; as his determination to put himself at the head of the party as communicated in circular letters to the principal of the confederates. At that very moment, when their hearts is with the confidence of success, their hopes were suched dashed to the ground by the mournful intelligence, that two princes, for whom they intended to fight, were no large alive.

On what day, or in what manner, they perished was a profound secret. The following is the most consider probable account, collected from the confession and his murderers in the next reign :- Soon after his walker London, Richard had tampered in vain with longon the governor of the Tower. From Warwick he displant James Tyrrel, his master of the horse, with order should receive the keys and the command of the during twenty-four hours. In the night Tyrrel nied by Forest, a known assassin, and Dighton, will grooms, ascended the staircase leading to the which the two princes lay asleep. While Tyrrel without, Forest and Dighton entered the room, small their victims with the bed-clothes, called in their empire view the dead bodies, and by his orders buried thems foot of the staircase. In the morning Tyrrel restand keys to Brackenburg, and rejoined the king before his to tion at York.

The intelligence was received with horror by both friends and the foes of the usurper; but, if it changed object, it did not dissolve the union, of the conspiration of the bishop of Ely proposed that the crown should be to Henry, the young earl of Richmond, the representation right of his mother of the house of Lancaster*, but a condition that he should marry the princess Elizabeth whom the claim of the house of York had now devoted.

Margaret, countess of Richmond, was the great-grand-daughter of John to her father being an elder brother, she was accounted the head of the house of ter, and had married Edmund, earl of Richmond, the son of queen Catherine. Tador.

a marriage which, the prelate observed, would unite the two fimilies in one common cause, enable them to triumph over the murderer, and put an end to those dissensions which had so long convulsed the nation. The suggestion was approved. and a messenger was dispatched to inform the earl of Richmond of the agreement, and to announce the 18th of October as the day fixed for the general rising in his favour. The duke of Buckingham was actuated in this business by the spirit of revenge against Richard. The countess of Richmond heartily concurred in the plan proposed for her son, and took upon herself the office of obtaining the queen dowager's consent to the marriage of her daughter Elizabeth; and, as a personal interview between the queen, who was of the house of York, and herself the head of the house of Lancaster, might awaken suspicion, she sent her physician, Lewis, to attend the dowager queen, who was still with her family in the sanctuary, and so communicate the plan. These proceedings escaped the vigilance of the king until the answer from Henry was received, and reached the ears of Richard, who set out to join his army at Leicester, where he insued a most singular proclamation, in which he calls his chemies "traitors, adulterers, and bawds;" asserts that their ebject is not only the destruction of the throne, but "the Letting of virtue, and the damnable maintenance of vice." The elements were better friends to Richard than his proclamation; for Henry having sailed from St. Malo, with a fleet of forty sail, the weather proved so tempestuous that but few could follow him across the channel; and when he reached the coast of Devon, the insufficiency of his force forbade him to disembark. Buckingham was still more unfortunate. From Brecknock he had marched to the Severn, but the bridges were broken down, and the river was so swollen that the fords were impassable, and the king triumphed withou drawing the sword. Buckingham was pursued: forced to conceal himself, he retired to the house of a man named Bannister, formerly his servant, and who, although he was indebted to the duke's bounty for all he possessed, ungratefully betrayed him, to secure the reward of one thousand pounds offered for his head. The duke was taken in his retreat in Shropshire, and being brought to Salisbury, where the king then was with his army, Richard refused to see him, but ordered his head to be immediately struck off in the market-place. This did not tranquillize the king, who was seriously alarmed at the idea of a marriage between the young earl of Richmond and the princess Elizabeth. A meeting had been held in Bretagne, where Henry solemnly swore to make her his queen as soon as he should triumph over the usurper; and five hundred of the exiles had, on that condition, promised him fealty, and done homage to him as their sovereign, as the future husband of her who was, by right of succession, queen of England.

To defeat this project now became the policy of Richard. It answered his plan to attach the princess Elizabeth to the company of the queen, and thus keep her in real, though honourable, captivity. It was not without great trouble and difficulty that he had drawn the mother and her daughters from their sanctuary: when he had succeeded so far, they were kindly received at court, and so many marks of distinction were lavished on Elizabeth, that it seemed probable that the king might intend her to be the wife of his son Edward But that prince suddenly expired at Middleham, and the king and his consort were for a time inconsolable. At length the king turned his attention to Bretagne, and a dark plot was framed for the apprehension of Henry and his adherents: but they were warned of their danger by Morton, and found a new and safer asylum in the dominions of Charles VIIIking of France, where they employed more than a year in making fresh preparations for their intended expedition.

At Christmas the king kept his court with unusual magnificence: the holidays were a succession of feasting, balls, and amusements; and it was remarked that, in every company, his niece Elizabeth appeared in robes exactly similar to those worn by the queen consort. Before the cause could be discovered the latter suddenly fell sick, and Richard, in expectation of her death, offered his hand to his niece, Her mother is said to have written to her son, the marquess of

et, at Paris, and to have ordered him to retire from the cils of Henry.

e princess herself, in a letter to the duke of Norfolk. sted that the king was "her joy and maker in this I, and that she was his in heart and thought;" and d her surprise at the duration of the queen's illness, and poprehensions "that she would never die." In less than nth the queen expired. But when the king communithe plan to Ratcliffe and Catesby, confidants, by whose ⇒ he was generally ruled, he experienced a most obstiand unexpected opposition. They represented to him his incestuous marriage would be an object of horror to nople, and would be condemned by the clergy; that susms were already entertained of his having removed the by poison to make room for the niece *; that to marry ould be to convert those suspicions into a certainty, and deprive him of his staunchest friends. With consi-Le reluctance the king yielded to their remonstrances; n the great hall of the Temple assured the mayor, alderand commoners, that no such marriage had ever been amplated; and, by a letter to the citizens of York, he ed them to refuse credit to the slanderous tales which een circulated, and to bring before the council all per-Enown to advance or propagate reports to his prejudice. the time approached in which the contest for the crown > be decided, the mind of Richard became the prev of s and apprehensions †; he no longer knew whom to or distrust. Daily defections taught him to suspect the

m the expressions in Elisabeth's letter, mentioned before, there is reason to fear's suspicion was too true. It is evident Richard had not only promised to marry, had told her that the queen would die in February. Hence she observes, "that ar part of February is past, and the queen is still alive."

have heard, by credible report of such as were secret with his chamberers, never had quiet in his mind, never thought himself sure. When he went his eyes whirled about, his body privily fenced, his hand ever on his dagger, itenance and manner like one always ready to strike again. He took ill rest is, lay long waking and musing, sore wearied with care and watch, rather alumban slept, troubled with fearful dreams, suddenly sometimes started up, leapt bed, and run about the chamber; so was his restless heart continually tossed and it with the tedious impression and stormy remembrance of his abominable deed.

fidelity of the most attached among his adherents. Sir Blount deserted to Henry, with his prisoner, the old Oxford: several officers of the garrison of Calais, a sheriffs of some counties, followed their example; b one gave him more anxiety than Lord Stanley, a nob of extensive influence in Cheshire and Lancashire. At la the king was informed by his emissaries that the an Richmond, with the permission of Charles, had mind a army of three thousand adventurers, most of them Normal and that a fleet was waiting in the mouth of in Sant transport them to England. He affected to remain ligence with joy; and, in order to prepare the event, published a long and artful proclamation, and denounced his enemies as being open adulterers and extortioners, who had chosen for their captain and Tudor, descended of bastard blood, both by the business mother's side, and who, therefore, could never be claim to the crown of England but by conquest went on to prove, "that he, Henry, intended to che subvert the laws of the realm, and to do the most of ders, slaughters, robberies, and disherisons, that was seen in any Christian country; wherefore the king will all his subjects should endower themselves with power for the defence of them, their wives, children, and hereditaments."

Having issued his instructions, Richard sent for the seal, and fixed his head-quarters at Nottingham. The was near his partisans in the north, on whose fidenchiefly relied; and thence, as from the centre, he could the extremities of the kingdom. On the 1st of August competitor sailed from Harfleur; on the 7th he law Milford-haven, and directed his march through the militaries of Wales. If the Welsh chieftains did not improgress, few joined his standard; and when he took; sion of Shrewsbury, his army did not exceed four the men. The king dispatched orders that all his subjects meet him at Leicester. On the twenty-first of August rode from Leicester with the crown on his head, and en

ut two miles from the town of Bosworth. The same night ary proceeded from Tamworth. The next morning both ties advanced to Redmore, and the vanguards engaged. Lichard was dismayed at seeing the Stanleys opposed to, the earl of Northumberland remaining inactive at his; and his men wavering. Chancing to espy Henry, he demined to win the day or perish in the attempt. Spurring horse, and exclaiming, "treason, treason, treason!" he with his own hand air William Brandon, the bearer of hostile standard, struck to the ground sir John Cheney, made a desperate blow at his rival, when he was oversered by numbers, thrown from his horse, and immediately. Lord Stanley, taking up the crown, placed it on the of Henry, and the conqueror was instantly greeted with shouts of "Long live king Henry."

The body of the late king was stript, laid across a horse and a pursuivant at arms, and conducted to Leicester, re, after it had been exposed for two days, it was buried little ceremony in the church of the Grey Friars. A monute of party-coloured marble, with his statue in alabaster, exected by Henry over the grave of Richard, and remained he dissolution of abbeys in the reign of Henry VIII. It then demolished, and the stone coffin which contained body was converted into a drinking-trough for horses, at White Horse inn in Leicester. Henry entered the town the same royal state with which Richard had marched of it the preceding day. Of all the prisoners three only red death, the notorious Catesby, and two persons of the e of Brecher.

If the character of Richard it is not necessary to say much. talents were respectable; in the field he displayed great age and activity; his eloquence was artful and persuasive, he was so perfect a master of dissimulation, that it was not impossible to dive into his real sentiments. But amm was the ruling passion of his soul; to the gratification of which he sacrificed every virtue, private and publicanswer to certain modern writers, who have attempted to re Richard's innocence, Lingard says, (note B. vol. v.)

their arguments are rather ingenious than conclusive, and dwindle into groundless conjectures when confronted with the evidence which may be arrayed against them.

"A singular," says Laing, " and for Richard's memory, providential concurrence of circumstances, enables us to ascertain the duration and to trace the particular stages of that progress, in the course of which the supposed destruction of his nephews was planned and accomplished. He was at Westminster on Sunday the 31st of August, where he ratified the league with the king of Castile, and at York the 7th of September, the day preceding his second coronation." In contradiction to this argument, as the ground of Richard's innocence, Lingard observes, that " the king might have been three hundred miles distant when his chancellor signed the documents at Westminster;" and out of hundreds of instances he adduces the two following: "In April 1399, Richard II. was on his road with his army to Ireland. On the 27th of that month we have a writ teste rege at Bristol, where he really was, and another on the same day, teste rege, at Westminster, where the chancellor was. Again, at the death & Edward IV. on the 9th of April, 1483, his son, Edward V. was at Ludlow, and did not reach London before the 4th of May following. And yet on the 23rd of April, eleven days before he came near Westminster, thirty-three writs were published in his name, dated at Westminster teste rege, Hence it is evident that the writs in question, on which Carte, Walpole, and Laing rest their principal argument, provenothing as to the presence or absence of Richard on the day on which they were dated. Besides, it is easy to prove that the progress of Richard on that occasion occupied a whole month. He left London soon after his coronation on the 6th of July, went to Windsor, from thence to Oxford, and there received a petition from the university in favour of the bishop of Elv, dated the 4th of August, whence it is not improbable he was there at that time. His next stage was Woodstock, where the people complained to him that his brother had unjustly annexed a large tract of land to the forest of Wickwood, He honoured the city of Gloucester by appoint-

ing a mayor and sheriffs, and then proceeded through Work pester to Warwick, where he was joined by the queen, and kept his court for a week. He then proceeded to Coventry, Leicester, and Nottingham, at which latter place we have a letter dated 23rd of August, written by his private secretary, to announce to the citizens of York his approach to their city, and telling them that "the king's lords and judges were with him, sitting and determining the complaints of poor folks; with due punition of offenders against his laws." From York; on the 31st of August, he despatched an order to Piers Courties, keeper of the wardrobe, " to send to that city his spure, banners, coats of arms, &c., which might be wanted for his coronation. So that the king was the whole month of August on his journey, and reached York before the day on which he has been supposed to be still in London." This account agrees with that of More, who says, " the king despatched Green when he was on his way to Gloucester, and received his report on his arrival at Warwick. Hence he sent Tyrrel to the Tower, and the murder was committed soon after, probably during the week he remained at Warwick, which, from the date from his residence at Nottingham, must have been about the middle of August," the time assigned by Bouse, who then lived at Guy's-cliff, four miles from Warwick; and who says, " the young king was murdered something more than three months after he had been received and caressed by his uncle, which was on the last day of April." In the same note it is observed, "that the Croyland historian, and all those who were most interested in the cause, entertained a positive belief that the princes had suffered a violent death. In proof of their conviction of this circumstance, the confederates, finding it necessary to raise a rival competitor to the throne, offered it to the earl of Richmond, conditionally, that he diould marry Elizabeth, sister of the deceased princes; and Richard, in order to secure the possession of the throne to and out off the hopes of his rival, proposed to marry

:wany 1674, in consequence of an order to clear the

Minesil, which shewed that he knew her brothers to.

White Tower from all contiguous buildings, as the work were "digging down the stairs which led from the king's had ings to the chapel in the said Tower, about ten feet in ground, were found the bones of two striplings in (a) seemed) a wooden chest, which upon the survey were be proportionable to the ages of the two brothers, vir., had thirteen and eleven years." On inquiry it was concluded they were the bones of the murdered princes, and assequence, after they had been sifted from the rubbits and honourably interred in the chapel of Henry VII is the minster."

Sir Thomas More, in his history, written a legislature wards, says: "Very truth it is, and well known time as sir James Tyrrel was in the Tower for mitted against king Henry VII., both Deighton with examined, and confessed the murder in manner was ten."

CHAPTER XXVII.

HENRY VII.

By an unlooked-for concurrence of events, it was seen Henry of Richmond, by a marriage with the princes beth, daughter of Edward IV., to unite the two has York and Lancaster; to end a national quarrel which for years deluged England in blood; and to be posterity the blessing of an undisputed succession a perplexing question occurred;—on what title was to ground his claim? After a long and anxious delicion, it was resolved to follow a line of proceeding, while it settled the crown on the king and his has general, should not bring either his right, or that a princess Elizabeth, into discussion. The conqueror seceived in the capital with unequivocal demonstration joy. As he passed through the streets in a close of the crowd obstructed his way, that they might be

the deliverer of his country. Before him were borne ensigns of his triumph, the three standards which had is small army to victory, and which he devoutly offered the high alter of St. Paul's *. But his coronation was ed, and the joy of the public was damped, by the suddent of a disease, which acquired, from its symptoms, the lation of the sweating sickness. In a month its violence to abate, and the new king received the rite of coroniform the hands of cardinal Bourchier, archbishop of rbury. At his coronation Henry instituted a bodyof fifty archers, called yeomen, to be in continual lance upon his person. This band has been continued his successors, the number being since increased to undred. They are popularly styled beef-eaters.

soon as he was crowned he summoned a parliament, when the commons presented to him their speaker, was all to inform them that "he had come to the throne by itle of inheritance, and by the sure judgment of God, and given him the victory over his enemy in the field." est they should be alarmed by the last words, he added, every man should continue "to enjoy his rights and itaments, with the exception of such persons as in the nt parliament should be punished for their offences at his royal majesty." Because it was taught that a teror might dispossess all men of their lands, since they eld them of the prince who had been conquered.

the settlement of the crown by legislative enactment, y proceeded with cautious and measured steps. In his favour he commanded that all records, containing any ion of his attainder, should be cancelled and taken off the ; in favour of his Lancastrian predecessors, he annulled ct of Edward IV., which had pronounced Henry IV. Henry V. usurpers, Henry IV. an usurper and traitor, garet and Edward, the wife and son of that monarch, irs; and in favour of Elizabeth, he repealed the act of

nese standards were, " an ymage of sainte George, and a red firye dragon, and kowe."—HALL, i.

act was also passed restoring Elizabeth, the widow of Edward IV., to the same id dignity as she would have had, if no act had passed against her onder III. But it does not appear that her dower was restored.

the 1st of Richard III., by which that princess had been nounced a bastard in common with the rest of her lath children by Elizabeth Gray *. Out of respect to her was to be queen, neither the title nor the body of the act w read in either house. In the act of settlement itself mention was made of Elizabeth cr her heirs; it was enacted, that " the inheritance of the crown should be at remain, and abide, in the most royal person of what sovereign lord, king Henry VII. and the heir of it le lawfully coming, perpetually with the grace of line was endure, and in none other." This was afterward the bull of pope Innocent VIII. When the actions had been obtained, the king hastened to gratiful of his people and the parliament, by marrying Elizabet ! however, the ambition of the princess was flattered his union, we are told (on what authority the historian in rant) that she had little reason to congratulate here score of domestic happiness; that Henry treated harshness and neglect; and that no quality, in his could atone for the deadly crime of being a descendant house of York.

After his marriage, and the dissolution of the partitle new monarch resolved to signalize the comments of his reign by a progress through the kingdom; but not, as might have been expected, take his queen with but left her to keep her court at Winchester, in the composite of her mother and sisters, and the countess of Richmond, mother-in-law. At Nottingham the king received an entire from the king of Scots, and was afterwards proceeding wards York, when he received intelligence that lord I had raised a force in the neighbourhood of Ripon and dleham, with which he meant to oppose Henry's entry York. But the insurgents became so well convinced is superiority of the royalists, that in two days they dispe

^{*} Stillington, bishop of Bath, who had framed the petition, and the act now man had been apprehended by order of the king immediately after the battle of law We find him soon afterwards a prisoner at York, "sore crased by reason of his and carrying." He however made his peace with Henry, and obtained a full on this account Henry opposed a motion to call him before the bowest with the composing the petition and act of bastardy of Edward's children.

I himself escaped to his friend sir Thomas Broughton, bence to the court of Margaret, dowager duchess of ady. The king spent three weeks in the city of York, sing favours, conferring honours, and redressing grie-

He then returned through Worcester, Hereford, ter, and Bristol, to London, to receive a numerous andid embassy, sent by James, king of Scotland. The rentertained by the Scottish monarch for the English **Dject of** displeasure to his own subjects; but it greatly in favour of Henry, and it was agreed that a **tial** alliance should be contracted between the royal England and Scotland. The birth of a prince. the month of the queen's pregnancy, gave equal joy and the nation. He was christened with extra-Parade in the cathedral, and at the font received the Arthur, in memory of the celebrated king of the from whom Henry wished it to be thought he was descended. As a proof that the queen's family was favour with Henry, the queen dowager was god-• and her two daughters, Cicely and Anne, carried the

the king's enemies had given him little uneasiness; bith of his son urged them to one of the most extra-Towards the close of one Richard Simons, a priest of Oxford, landed in with a boy about eleven years of age, named Lamenel, the son of an obscure craftsman. He presented to the lord deputy of Ireland, by the name of Edward tenet, earl of Warwick; and implored the protection L'nobleman for a young and innocent prince, who, by ig from the Tower, had avoided a fate similar to that of fortunate cousins, the sons of Edward IV. The reins of etration in Ireland were held by the chief of the Yorkrd Kildare, and Henry had not thought it prudent to a powerful faction by removing either the lord deputy, members of the council; but now his suspicions were ex-The conduct of Kildare, who, without inquiry whether il Warwick were in the Tower or not, introduced the boy, under his assumed name, to the nobility of Ireland the citizens of Dublin; and promised to afford him pution against his enemies, and those of his family. It time a great part of the population, relying on the author Kildare, admitted the title of the new Plantagenet; and adventurer was proclaimed by the style of Edward V. It of England and France, and lord of Ireland.

It will be remembered that after the execution of the of Clarence, Edward IV. sent for Edward, the blok at court, and created him earl of Warwick, the his grandfather. Richard, when his own side assigned to the earl the honours of the heir afterwards, fearing that he might become a dame petitor, he confined him in the castle of Sherial Yorkshire. The first act of the new king at Live! to transfer the young prince, who had only mile fifteenth year, from his prison in the north, to all greater security, the Tower. But, when the reached Henry of the new adventure in Ireland successful reception by Kildare, he conducted the med Warwick from the Tower to St. Paul's, that he publicly recognised by the citizens; and then won the him to the palace of Shene, where the young prince daily with the noblemen and others who visited the com prudent measure satisfied the people of England laughed at the impostor in Ireland, while the Iris tained that theirs was the real, and that the boy si was the pretended, Plantagenet. The earl of Lincoln. Richard had latterly treated as heir-apparent, had con paid his court to Henry from the period of his accession had been summoned to the last council as one in with king placed confidence. Yet the moment the course dissolved he repaired to the court of his aunt, the due Burgundy, consulted with her and lord Lovell, and not an aid of two thousand veterans, under Martin Swa sailed to Ireland, and landed at Dublin, to give new ance to the cause of the counterfeit Warwick. Lincoln had frequently conversed with the red po

e, he advised that the impostor should be crowned. The agny of his coronation was thereupon performed by the p of Meath, with a diadem taken from a statue of the virgin ; and the new king was carried, after the Irish manner, the church to the castle, on the shoulders of an English ain of the name of Darcy. Lincoln, with his German aries, and a body of Irish associates, landed in the ern extremity of Furness, and attempted to get possesof York. The king soon found himself surrounded by Lends with their retainers; and the two armies, as if by al compact, hastened towards Newark. At Stoke the mard of the royalists was attacked by the insurgents. ction was short but sanguinary. The Germans fought erished with the resolution of veterans: the adventurers Ireland behaved with their accustomed bravery; and -h a portion only of the royalists was engaged, the was won with the slaughter of one half of their oppo-Of the leaders of the insurgents, the earl of Lincoln. >rds Thomas and Maurice Fitz-Gerald, sir Thomas Thton, and Martin Swartz remained on the field of ; lord Lovell was seen to escape from his pursuers; his fate we are uncertain, for he was never seen or heard er that day*. Simons and his pupil surrendered to Robert ngham, one of the king's esquires. The priest was to confess the imposture before the convocation, and then thrown into a prison, in which he perished. But pretended Edward VI. obtained his pardon, resumed his name of Lambert Simnel, was made a scullion in the al kitchen, and afterwards, in reward of his good conduct, raised to the more honourable office of falconer. lizabeth had now been married a year and a half; she had the king a son to succeed to the throne; and yet she

'owards the close of the seventeenth century, at his seat at Minster Lovel, in dshire, was accidentally discovered a chamber under the ground, in which was electon of a man seated in a chair, with his head reclised on a table. Hence it posed that the fugitive had found an asylum in this subterraneous chamber, where s, perhaps, starved to death through neglect.

kept in obscurity, as if she were unworthy of her station.

people murmured, and Henry found it necessary to

silence their discontent, by giving the requisite ord coronation. The ceremony was performed during of Parliament: an ample provision was made for tenance; and from that period Elizabeth was be ward on all occasions of parade, and seemed to same consideration as former queens*.

To cement more firmly the friendship which exists Henry and the king of Scots, Fox, bishop of Durham sent during the summer to Edinburgh; and a ment had been made, that James, who had the daughter of the king of Denmark, show beth, the queen dowager of England, and that should also marry two of her daughters. Days appointed for the meeting of ambassadors to fit settlements, but the project was interrupted by the of the Scottish lords, and finally defeated by the James, who, after losing the battle at Canglor, in laws murdered at the mill of Beton during his flight.

As soon as the king was relieved from his enemies, he was compelled to direct his attention to tinent. The French monarchs had gradually obtained assistance, and the great fiefs of the crown, Bretagna cepted, which still retained its own prince and its constitution. But the French regency, under the micronal constitution. But the French regency, under the micronal constitution of the king's marriage with Anne, sole heiress of the at the death of her father, duke Francis, who was infirm, and at certain times deranged in his under

was dressed in white cloth of gold of damask, with a mantle of the sale ermine. Her fair yellow hair hung downe 'pleyne byhynd her bak, w pipes over it.' On her head was a circle of gold ornamented with precise this dress she was borne through the city, reclining in a litter, with a sale of gold carried over her by four knights of the body. Several carried over her by four knights of the body. Several carried in the hall. The lady Catherine Gray and mistress bitten as table, and sate at her feet, while the countesses of Oxford and Rivers is "and, at certayne tymys, helde a kerchief befor her grace.' The the coronation and the dinner from behind a lattice."

Anne's refusal they framed a pretext for declaring war inst duke Francis, and both parties appealed to the grale of Henry. Charles reminded him of the French liaries who fought under his banner at the battle of worth: Francis reverted to the protection experienced Henry, during his long exile in Bretagne. The king. Illing to offend either, offered himself to act as mediator een both. Charles, while he professed himself willing >t the mediation, prosecuted the war with additional Francis renewed his solicitations to Henry; but the • trusting to the chance of events, and the internal rces of Bretagne, always promised, and always delayed. s not that he could plead poverty; for his parliament ranted him two-fifteenths, and advised him to assist his L: but avarice prompted Henry to accept the money and relect the advice. In a few weeks Francis died; and the of France, by virtue of some ancient and unintelligible , which had lain dormant for centuries, demanded the succession; and before Christmas one half of Bretagne L the hands of the French. The clamour of the nation oused Henry from his apathy. He summoned a parand demanded an additional aid of one hundred and pounds, which amount was reduced to seventy-Lousand. To Anne he promised an army of six thouearchers to serve for six months; but on conditions to her necessities alone compelled her to subscribe—that bould surrender two fortresses, as securities for the ment of the expense, and should take an oath not to without his consent. In the spring, the lord Willoughby ook landed in Bretagne with the stipulated number of but as Henry had previously informed Charles, that, people compelled him to aid the Bretons, his army d only act on the defensive, the French king ordered wn forces to abstain from a general engagement. The equence was that a few skirmishes kept up the appearof hostilities; and the English auxiliaries, as soon as six months of their service were completed, returned to own country. With respect to the money levied to

assist Bretagne, Henry deposited the greater part of it in his own coffers. War was not his object. He spent that and part of the succeeding year, in forming and re-forming alliances with the kings of Spain, and of the Romans. Never, perhaps, did three princes profess more and feel less friendship for each other. For the common advantage of Christendom they agreed to set bounds to the ambition of France: while, in reality, each sought, by alarming the fears of Charles, to promote his own individual interests. During a cessation of hostilities, Anne, in compliance with the wishes of her deceased parent, consented to an union with Maximilian, king of the Romans; but his Flemish subjects being then in a state of rebellion, it was thought that a marriage by proxy would be equally certain, and less dangerous than a journey, which might expose him to his enemies. With this view the prince of Orange, as the representative of the king of the Romans, married the duchess in his name, in the month of April; and, within a few weeks after, the lord d'Albret, one of her former suitors. to revenge his own disappointment, betrayed to the French the important city of Nantes. War was now renewed: Maximilian, thinking himself secure, neglected to succour his wife: Henry harassed her with demands of money for the repayment of his expenses: and Charles formed a plan by which he should compel her to break her contract with Maximilian, and marry himself; his prior contract with Margaret of Austria, who was then receiving her education in France, to fit her for the French court, being no obstacle in the mind of Charles. By promises and bribes he bought the councillors of the duchess, but their persuasions made by impression until they were supported by a French army which appeared before the gates of Renne. Anne was the told that her obstinacy had been punished; and that there remained no hope of escape. She must either be the wife the captive of Charles. She was married to him at Langue in Touraine, and crowned in the abbey church of St. Denis The reader may conceive the feelings of Maximilian at this unlooked for disappointment. Henry sat himself down to

Statewhete the advantages to be derived from the event. After the mask of great warlike preparations, concealed his dissigns from his own subjects, as well as from the enemy. The former would pay the tenths and fifteenths; the latter might, perhaps, offer a valuable sum for the purchase of person. With this view the troops had been mustered and limpected, justified passed after week, and the season for active updates was suffered to elapse before the king just himself at the head of the army. In the beginning of October he hinded at Calais; and a fortnight later he appeared believe Bouleyse, with sixteen hundred men at arms and the county fire themself at the hinder was suffered to make the appeared become the hinder at Calais; and a fortnight later he appeared to elapse before the hinder at Calais; and a fortnight later he appeared to the county fire this way the sixteen hundred men at arms and

i.-"It was now believed the war had begun; and the people el England Cuttured themselves with the anticipation of 'Vistory will conquest. But Heavy, in the month of June, had "commissioned lord d'Aubigny, governor at Calais, to negothat a peace and alliance with Charles, and that peace, in "Militaines at least, was already concluded. Two treaties, the whit; public, the other private, were soon after signed. By the Minute years, alliance, and confederacy were established Miles the two crowns, to last during the lives of both kings, the the sub year after the death of the survivor; by the the. Charles bound himself to pay to Henry, by half-yearly silments of twenty-five thousand france, the aggregate in of one hundred and forty-nine thousand pounds sterling; which was to be in lieu of all claims against Anne of Minigae, the other part as the arrears of the annuity due to this king Edward IV. Henry then returned home.

It is now time to introduce to the reader one of the most literious personages recorded in English history. About period when Henry declared war against France, a merment vessel from Lisbon cast anchor in the cove of Cork.

It was soon remoured that he was Richard, the second son of Edward IV. As the English utiliers were warmly attached to the house of York, O'W ster.

the late mayor of Cork, easily induced the citizens to declare in his favour. The adventurer had yet no apparent reason to be displeased with his reception; when he suddenly accepted an invitation from the ministers of Charles VIII, to visit France, and place himself under the protection of that monarch. Charles was prompted to this by the secret solicitation of the duchess of Burgundy, and the intrigues of one Frion. The duchess was the widow of Charles the Bold; a lady of great virtue and practical goodness, but who was roused by the jealous malignity of Henry towards the Yorkists, of whose house she was a member, to become one of the faction against the English monarch. He was received by the king as the real duke of York, and the rightful heir to the English throne. At this intelligence Henry became perplexed and alarmed. He hastened to sign the peace with the French monarch; and Charles instantly ordered the adventurer to quit his dominions.

The pretended prince next solicited the protection of Margaret, the dowager duchess of Burgundy, who, with feigned surprise, inquired into his origin, and put many particular questions as to his escape from the Tower, all which the youth answered so satisfactorily, that she acknowledged him as her nephew, and the legitimate successor to the English throne. She assigned him an equipage suited to his birth; and honoured him with the surname of "The white rose of England." Could the aunt, it was asked, be deceived as to the identity of her nephew? or would so virtuous a princess countenance an impostor? Henry spared neither pains nor expense to unravel the mystery. The Yorkists were equally active. Their secret agent, sir Robert Clifford, was permitted to see "the white rose," and to hear his history. He assured his employers that the claim of the new dake of York was indisputable; while the emissaries of Henry reported, that his real name was Perkin Warbeck, the son of a converted Jew; that he was born of respectable parents in the city of Tournay; that he had frequented the company of the English merchants in Flanders; and had, some time before, sailed from Middleburgh to Lisbon, in the service of

dy Brompton, the wife of one of the outlaws. In the course f further investigation, and on the application of Henry, the rehduke Philip promised, through friendship for the king, hat he would abstain from affording aid to his enemy, but hat he could not control his mother, the duchess of Burgundy, rho was absolute mistress within the lands of her dower. Ienry, to shew his displeasure, withdrew the mart of English loth from Antwerp to Calais, and strictly prohibited all atercourse between the two countries.

When Clifford arrived from Flanders, he was introduced the king in council, and on his knees obtained a full parm; but being exhorted to prove his repentance by dispering what he knew of the conspiracy, he accused the lord namberlain, sir William Stanley. The king started with affected horror, and refused to give credit to the charge. At the battle of Bosworth, when he was on the point of sinking acter the pressure of the enemy, that nobleman had rescued may from danger, and had secured to him the victory. But lifford repeated the accusation with greater boldness. anley confessed the truth of the charge; and on that consision he was arraigned, condemned, and executed.

In the mean time, as the natives of Ireland had long been armly attached to the rival family, Henry devoted a part of attention to the pacification of that island. He nominally trusted the government, with the title of duke of York, to second son, Henry; but, as the prince was only four years d, sir Edward Poynings was appointed his deputy, and took assession with a small army of one thousand men. Poyngs was soon called into the field by the turbulence of 'Hanlan, an Irish chieftain, but the natives retired into the cods. The deputy appears to have acted for the welfare of the state; a free pardon was granted to all the natives, with the exception of lord Barry and O'Water; and tranquillity as fully restored in the island.

Three years had elapsed since the Pretender first set forth is claim, and yet he had never made any attempt to establish by legal proof, or to enforce it by an appeal to the sword. is protracted delay, the accounts which had been put

lished of his country and parentage, the punishment of his friends in England, and the pacification of Ireland, made his cause appear desperate. In this emergency he sailed with a few hundreds of adventurers, and made a descent in the neighbourhood of Deal. The inhabitants attacked the invaders, took one hundred and sixty-nine of them prisoners, and drove the remainder back into their boats. All the captives were hanged, and Warbeck returned in despair to Flanders. The repulse he had met, and the complaint of the Flemish merchants, induced the archduke Philip to solicit a reconciliation with Henry; and the "great treaty of commerce between England and the Netherlands" was signed, and by it every facility was afforded to the trade of the two countries. Warbeck could no longer remain in Flanders. He sailed to Cork; but the Irish refused to venture their lives in his service. From Cork he passed to Scotland, where he was received with kindness by king James, whose romantic and generous disposition seduced him to believe Warbeck's story; and he gave to him in marriage his near relation, the lady Catherine Gordon, daughter to the earl of Huntley.

This improvement in the fortune of the adventurer led to the invasion of England by the Scottish king, who engaged to place the Pretender on the throne, on condition that he should receive, as the reward of his services, the town of Berwick, and the sum of fifty thousand marks in two years. The pretender gained no accession to his numbers; the novelty of the thing had worn away; not a sword was unsheathed in favour of the "white rose;" and the Scots, to console their disappointment, and to repay themselves for their trouble, pillaged the country without mercy. But, while Henry's attention was called to allay an insurrection of his Cornish subjects, James again crossed the borders, and laid siege to the castle of Norham, which the earl of Surrey forced him to abandon, and retaliated on the Scottish borderers the injuries which they had inflicted on their English neighbours. By the mediation of Ayala, the Spanish ambassador, a truce with Scotland was concluded for seven years. The enthusiasm which had been excited by the appearance of Warbeck in Scotland having

some time on the decline, he departed from thence with ships and six score companions. He once more touched ork, and solicited in vain the aid of the earl of Desmond. n Cork he crossed the channel to Whitsand Bay, and proing by land to Bodmin, unfurled the standard of Rich-EV. The Cornish men encouraged him with their pros, but the royal army had arrived, and a complete, but uinary victory was expected. During the day, the preed Richard made preparation for battle; but his heart I at the sight of the royal standard, and as soon as it was be left his camp with a guard of sixty men, and riding aght, entered his name in the sanctuary of Beaulieu in pshire. His wife, the lady Caroline Gordon, who had Left at Mount St. Michael, submitted at the first sums. When she was introduced to the king, she blushed and t into tears; but he relieved her apprehensions, and sent to the queen, with whom she afterwards lived as an atant, still retaining, on account of her beauty, the appellaof the "white rose," which she had originally derived the pretensions of her husband*.

the sanctuary of Beaulieu the fugitive had leisure to ct on his situation, and he threw himself on the mercy of ry, who did not violate his word, but refused to admit him his presence. He rode in the king's suite to London, being limited to the precincts of the palace, he grew y of confinement, and contrived to elude the vigilance of seepers; but being pursued, he surrendered himself to the r of the monastery of Shene. For this attempt Warbeck d' one whole day in the stocks at Westminster Hall, and next in Cheapside. In both places he read a confession, ed by his own hand, in which he acknowledged himself a re of Tournay, the son of Osbeck and Catharine di Faro; the names and professions of his relations, and of the ons with whom he had lived at Antwerp, Middleburgh,

he "white rose" was afterwards married to sir Mathew Cradock, and was with him in the church of Swansea in Wales, where their total sad epitagis are be seen.

and Lisbon. After suffering his punishment, he was committed to the Tower.

Now that Warbeck was in prison, the rights of the earl of Warwick were again brought forward; and a person of the name of Ralph Wulford, instructed in his part by Patrick, an Augustinian friar, undertook to personate the young prince, and the county of Kent was the theatre on which he made his first appearance. Both were immediately apprehended; the friar was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and Wulford paid with his life the forfeit of his temerity.

The real earl of Warwick, and the pretended duke of York, were now fellow prisoners in the Tower. They soon contracted a mutual friendship, wept over their common misfortune, and adopted a plan of escape. Their scheme being discovered. Warbeck was indicted in Westminster Hall as a foreigner guilty of acts of treason since his landing in England. He was sentenced to die, and at the place of execution affirmed, on the word of a dying man, the truth of every particular contained in his former confession.

The earl of Warwick was arraigned at the bar of the house of lords. Of his own accord he pleaded guilty; the earl of Oxford, as lord steward, pronounced judgment; and after a few days, Henry signed the warrant for the execution of the last legitimate descendant of the Plantagenets. owed his death to the restless officiousness of his friends, who, by repeated attempts, had convinced the king that the existence of the earl was incompatible with his own safety. The whole nation lamented his fate; and to remove the odium from the king, a report was circulated that Ferdinand of Spain had refused to bestow his daughter Catharine on the prince of Wales, as long as so near a claimant of the house of York was alive. Catharine herself was heard in the following reign to observe, that she never expected much happiness from her union with the family of Tudor, since that union had been purchased at the price of royal and innocent blood. With respect to Warbeck, in contradiction to the arguments adduced by Carte, Walpole, and Laing, in favour of his being

rightful heir to the throne, the present historian, Lingard, erves (in note c, vol. v. p. 477) that the death of the two princes was believed by their mother Elizabeth, their Richard, by the partisans of the house of Lancaster, and e of the house of York, and even by Henry himself in the mer of 1487, when he offered to marry their mother to king of Scots, and their two sisters to the sons of the tish monarch. He then proceeds to remark the difference Tenry's conduct towards the earl of Warwick and towards beck, as a convincing proof that as he knew the former to real Plantagenet, so he believed the latter to be no other an impostor; and concludes his note with observing that ___ile Warwick lived, pretenders to the crown rapidly suced each other. After his execution, Henry was permitted _ eign without molestation." From this period the ambition Henry was no more alarmed by pretenders to the crown, his avarice disturbed by the expense of foreign expedi-The events of the ten years preceding his death are rised in his treaties with other powers and his expedients. mass money.

1502, Margaret, the eldest daughter of Henry, was so-The ly affianced to James, king of Scotland, the earl of Bothacting as proxy for James; the form was as follows: - Patriche, earl of Bothwell, procurator, &c., contract maony with thee Margaret, and take thee into and for the = ffe and spous of my soveraigne lord James, king of Scotand all other for thee, as procurator forsaid forsake, during his and thine lives naturall, and thereto as procuraforsaid, I plight, and gives thee his faythe and truthe." t the same time was concluded a treaty of perpetual peace ween the two kingdoms. The princess was only twelve rs old at the time of the contract, on which account she allowed to remain twenty months longer under the roof her parents. At length she departed from her grandther's palace at Coiliweston. The earl of Kent, with the ds Strange, Hastings, and Willoughby, escorted her as far York. She rode on a palfrey, attended by three footmer d was followed by a magnificent litter drawn by two hors

in which she made her entry into the different towns. In her suite were a company of players, and another of minstrels. From York she proceeded, under the care of the earls of Surrey and Northumberland, to Lambertonkirk, where she was received by the Scottish nobility. On her arrival in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, James mounted her palfrey, and rode with her behind him into his capital. They were married by the archbishop of Glasgow, and the English "lords and ladyes," says Hall, "returned into their country, gevyinge more prayse to the manhoode, than to the good maner and nurture of Scotland."

Another royal marriage contract took place in 1499, between Arthur, prince of Wales, and Catharine, fourth daughter of Ferdinand, king of Castile and Arragon. The marriage ceremony was performed in the chapel of the manor of Bewdley, where Catharine was represented by her proxy, the Spanish ambassador. When the prince completed his fourteenth year, the princess landed at Plymouth, and they were married in St. Paul's. The castle of Ludlow was assigned for their residence. The abilities of Arthur, the sweetness of his temper, and his proficiency in learning, had gained him the affection of all who knew him; and his bride, by her beauty, modesty, and accomplishments, became the object of general admiration: but the hopes of the nation were unexpectedly blighted by the premature death of the prince, in the fourth month after his marriage. Anxious to preserve the friendship of England, as a counterpoise to the enmitt of France, the parents of the young widow proposed a marriage between their daughter and her brother-in-law, Henry, now the apparent heir to the English throne. The monarch affected to receive the communication with indifference, and suspended his assent, that he might ascertain whether more profitable bargain might not be made with some other court; and a year elapsed before it was finally agreed that the marriage should be contracted within two months after the receival of a dispensation from the pope; that it should be solemnized when the prince completed his fifteenth year; and that Ferdinand should previously transmit to London

other sum of one hundred thousand crowns, the remaining f of the marriage-portion of Catharine. The dispensation s obtained; the parties were contracted to each other; but : Spanish monarch either could not, or would not, advance money, and his English brother cared little for the delay. Soon after the death of the prince of Wales, his mother, izabeth, had been carried to the grave, while Henry coned himself by calculating the advantages to be derived m a second marriage; and two rich widows were succesely the object of his heart's affections. His passion for (relict of the king of Naples) was instantly extinguished learning that the reigning monarch had refused to fulfil testament of his predecessor; and his hopes of obtainthe dower with Margaret, the rich duchess of Savoy, e relinquished by the prospect of a richer prize in Juana, en in her own right of Castile, but whose derangement ratellect caused Henry to desist from his pursuit. He then pted the apologies of Ferdinand for his delay in the pay-Lt of the marriage-portion of his daughter, and concluded him a new treaty, by which the Spanish monarch was and to transmit to London one hundred thousand crowns Four half-yearly instalments, and Henry to permit the mnization of the marriage on the arrival of the last. Two ments were received by the king at the appointed times, but lied before the arrival of the third. The king had for years n visited with regular fits of the gout, and every spring the st serious apprehensions were entertained for his life. In ril, 1509, he sunk under the violence of the disease. Henry had four sons, of whom one only survived him, his ccessor, Henry VIII. He had also four daughters; two

Henry had four sons, of whom one only survived him, his ccessor, Henry VIII. He had also four daughters; two id in childhood, Margaret married James IV. of Scotland, d Mary had been betrothed to Charles, archduke of Austria, it she married Lewis XII. of France, and after his death, marles Brandon, duke of Suffolk.

Henry was not beloved by his subjects, as he was too vere and morose to acquire their affection; but his contemraries all allow him the praise of political wisdom, and nit that he was by nature formed for the peculiar circum-

stances in which accident had placed him. His mind was engrossed by two controlling passions—the fear of losing his crown, and the desire to amass wealth. To secure the first he watched with extreme jealousy the conduct of his ministers, and used such reserve and caution in his manner, as never to unbosom himself with freedom, even to his consort. or his mother; so that no one knew what to believe, or what to expect. To obtain the latter, Henry was in no way scrupulous as to the means; sir Richard Empson and Edmund Dudley, both lawyers of inventive heads and unfeeling hearts, were the men he employed as the agents of oppression. They pillaged the people to fill the king's coffers, and then robbed the king to enrich themselves. It is but fair, however, to observe, that his charities were many and profuse. Of his buildings, his six houses for friars fell in the next reign. From a conviction that the prosperity of England would greatly depend on her naval strength, he expended fourteen thousand pounds in building a vessel called the Great Harry, which was the first king's ship in the English navy; since, prior to this period, the king hired ships from the merchants when he wanted a fleet.

In the eighteenth year of this reign, Henry caused the chapel of our Lady, at Westminster, together with an adjoining tavern, called the White Rose, to be taken down, and in their place built the celebrated chapel bearing his name, in Westminster-abbey, and which still exists, a monument of the opulence and taste of its royal founder.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

HENRY VIII.

This monarch had nearly completed his eighteenth year on his accession to the throne; and his subjects, dazzled by the fair, but uncertain, promise of his youth, gave him credit for more virtues than he really possessed; while his vices were not sufficiently developed to cause alarm, or attract attention.

liver did any prince ascend the throne with more numerous trantages than Henry VIII. of England. His kingdom was the state of tranquillity; he was on terms of amity with all neighbouring potentates; and the avarice of his father. leaving his coffers full of money, had supplied him with the means to satisfy his natural propensity for profuse liber-The late king, with a view to divert his son's attenbeing aged his mind in the study of literature; and Henry had moquired a graphetent knowledge of the languages, divinity. ad philasophy than cultivated by the learned. This knowdere joined to his natural abilities, rendered him confident his own neverns but this confidence also rendered him a hape to the flattery of his courtiers. By the advice of his terreindestation, the counters of Richmond, he confided in the semestique of his late father. To the Spanish ambassador, are assuressed his readiness to marry Catharine, which mee was considered by one party might be advantageous the means of securing the aid of Spain against the power of Finance, while the other deprecated the act on account of the near affinity of the parties, which latter objection was the force of the papal dispensation, and the plant exertion of Catharine, which she was ready to affirm where own oath, and by the attestation of several matrons, ther former nuptials with Arthur had never been consumitated . . With the unanimous consent of the council, Henry was publicly married to the princess by the archbishop of Canterbury: their coronation followed; and the rejoicings secupied the court during the remaining part of that year.

Henry confirmed by proclamation the general pardon which had been granted by his father; offered redress to all persons, who had been aggrieved by the late commission of forfeitures; and ordered the arrest of Empson and Dudley, who had been the chief panders to the rapacity of the late king. The

Binary acknowledged the truth of her assertion, to her nephew the emperor, as is injuried by cardinal Pole in his letter to the king.

f. Martyr, in a letter dated May 6th, 1509, before the marriage, talls us that is was the bellef in Spain. On this account she was married with the coremonies and the married with the coremonies with the married at the married with the core of the married bet hair boses.

prisoners defended themselves with success. However iniquitous their conduct had been, it was, they said, justified by precedent, by the existing provisions of the law, and by the tenor of their commission. But it was deemed necessary, in order to hush the clamours of the people, that they should suffer, and therefore they were accused of a new offence, 1 design to secure the person of the young king upon the death of his father, and to possess themselves of all the powers of government. The charge was too absurd to gain credit; but throughout the whole of this reign, if the crown brought an individual to his trial, it mattered little by what device his conviction were procured. On the above flimsy pretext they were pronounced guilty of a conspiracy against the state. The parliament after Christmas passed an act of attainder against them; they were executed on Tower Hill, and their blood not only silenced their enemies, but supplied the officers of the treasury with an excuse for refusing to redress the wrongs of which these unfortunate men had been the original authors.

The peaceful state of his dominions allowed to Henry the opportunity of indulging his taste for magnificence and pleasure, and the copious treasures of Henry VII. were acceptable to his son, who lavished large sums in a series of amusements. But what excited surprise, was, that the earl of Surrey, who had held the post of treasurer in the late reign on account of his parsimony and frugality, seemed to have changed his character with his master; for he still retained the office, by his conformity to the expensive habits of the juvenile monarch. As the king excelled in all the accomplishments of the again was a proficient in martial exercises, his vanity was quickly inflamed by the praises he received; and he desired to make trial of his prowess in real war. It was not long before his wishes were gratified by the quarrel between Julius, the Roman pontiff, and Louis XII., king of France.

Louis had expelled from Milan the reigning duke Ludovice Sforza, and by successive aggrandizements had awakened the fears of all his neighbours. The crown of Naples had been wrested from the king of the two Sicilies by Ferdinand of Spain, and the two monarchs were treated as usurpers by

the republic of Venice, and the ecclesiastical state. Julius II.. who in the chill of age retained all the fire of youth, seemed to have exchanged the duties of a Christian bishop for the occupations of a statesman and a warrior. His great objects of policy were to extend the limits of the papal dominions, and to free Italy from the yoke of the strangers; and his own resources being inadequate to these objects, he supplied the deficiency by the skill with which he wielded his spiritual arms. The first year of the war terminated in a rupture between the pope and France. The following autumn. Louis, having obtained by his arms, a decided superiority, announced a general council to assemble at Pisa, "for the reformation of the church, both in its head and its members." Soon an alliance defensive and offensive was signed between Ferdinand, the pope, and the republic of Venice; and all Christian princes were invited to accede to the "holy league," which had for its object the extinction of schism, and the defence of the Roman church. The young king of England essented to the entreaties of the pontiff, and the advice of his father-in-law. His vanity was gratified with the title of * head of the Italian league," and a promise from Julius to reward his services with the appellation of "most Christian king," which Louis had forfeited by his schismatical conduct; and he also entertained the vain hope of recovering the French provinces, which had been wrested, on former occasions, from the possession of his ancestors. Henry, with the aid of Ferdinand, made an attempt for the recovery of Guienne; but Ferdinand reaped the principal fruit of the campaign by the conquest of Navarre, which is still possessed by his successors; and Henry was, at a later period, convinced of the probability that Ferdinand had been more attentive to the interests of the Spanish, than to those of the English, crown.

On the coast of Bretagne the English arms were not more fortunate by sea than by land. But though England reaped neither glory nor advantage from these events, the efforts of Henry contributed materially to accomplish the thief object of the league. Before Christmas the French were driven out of Italy, and Julius was able to boast that

he had fulfilled his promise, that "he had chased rians beyond the Alps."

Henry, eager to wipe away the disgrace of the campaign, entered into a treaty with his allies, Maxim Ferdinand, to invade France within two months. The politics of Ferdinand to disavow this act of his dor, but the Emperor and Henry performed their ments. The latter, previous to his departure, at a of twenty-five thousand men, appointed "his as consort queen Catharine rectrix and governors and left orders for the immediate execution the unfortunate earl of Suffolk*.

Henry suffered himself to be detained by please tertainments at Calais, so that Shrewsbury and the formed the siege of Terouanne, when the young large in the camp. There he was joined by Maximilia, avoid any dispute about precedency, called himself lunteer of the king of England, wore his badget rose, put on the cross of St. George, and accepted dred crowns as his daily pay. Louis, fearful to battle, sought only to protract the siege, but Henry the advice of his volunteer, and gave the enemy but a severe engagement the city of Terouanne surrende the action was denominated by the French the Spurs.

More splendid and lasting laurels were at this performed to the form of England by the earl of Surrey, in the memorab Flodden. The marriage of James IV. of Scotlan garet, the sister of Henry, had not extinguished ditary partiality of the Scottish prince for the ancient

When this nobleman claimed the honours and estates of his deceal late duke of Saffolk, Henry VII. refused to grant his claim, on account of his elder brother, John, earl of Lincoln, who had fallen at the battle compelled him to accept, as a boon, a small portion of the patrimosy and to be content with the inferior title of earl. Edmund sought an court of his aunt, the duchess of Burgundy, and, after her death, the arrows him to reside in his Castilian dominions; but Philip being comperve him up, exacted from the king a promise that he would respect the carl was sent to the Tower. Though Henry thirated for his blue p his engagement to Philip; but before his death he left as orther his victim, as a legacy to the filial piety of his successor.

ance; and the jealousy of his English brother was frely irritated by real or supposed injuries. James had ed in vain, from the equity of Henry, the jewels which te king had bequeathed to his daughter, the Scottish : he had pointed out the murderer of his favourite, sir rt Ker, and the accused had not been brought to trial; when he demanded justice for the death of Andrew n, as a national calamity, he being the bravest of his landers, Henry scornfully replied, that "the fate of a was unworthy the notice of kings."

ile James was brooding over these causes of discontent. y joined in the league against Louis, and the Scottish became the scene of the most active negotiations. B cheerfully renewed the ancient alliance between Scotand France, with an additional clause, reciprocally bindach prince to aid his ally against all men whomsoever. 3 dispatched a Scottish herald to require the retreat of nglish army out of the French territory, and to denounce a the case of a refusal. He found Henry in the camp Ferouanne, and received from him an equally scornd passionate answer. At the same time lord Horne, perlain to James, crossed the English borders. The th monarch himself, followed by one of the most ous armies that had ever been raised in Scotland. d the Tweed, laid siege to Norham, demolished the of Ford, led his army across the river, and encamped e hill of Flodden, the last of the Cheviot mountains . border on the vale of Tweed. There the English under the command of the earl of Surrey, obtained a us victory. James was slain by an unknown hand, all about a spear's length from the feet of Surrey: his was carried afterwards to London, that it might be ed with suitable honours *.

common people would not believe that their king had been alain by the Engthen, however, he did not appear, some said that he had been murdered by
others, that he was gone a pilgrim to Jerusalem. Henry, on the contrary, to
his death, obtained from pope Leo permission to bury the body in consecrated
because he died under the sentence of excommunication, to which he had said
nself by breaking the treaty. Stow tells us that he saw it, wrapped in
in a lumber-room at Sheme, after the dissolution of that monastery.

Henry had left Terouanne when the news of this imp victory reached him. Tournay had submitted to an En garrison, and the king diverted his mind with spending days in the company of his queen's nephew, Charles pro of Spain, and the prince's aunt, the archduchess Man From Flanders he returned to England, it having bent agreed, that before the expiration of seven month (limit should marry Henry's sister, the princess Mary. It is months were spent in preparation for the remaindent but Louis, who felt humbled by a long seio it does appealed to the individual interests of the successively detached them, one by one, for the In Leo X., successor to Julius, he found a pondition responding disposition: by circular letters Levels of the princes to sheathe the sword, and revoked to sures which had been issued against the king, main dom of France. Ferdinand consented to a prolonged the armistice for twelve months, and Maximilian bait thrown out to him in a proposed marriage grandson Charles and Renée, the daughter of Land the claim of the French crown to the duchy of Minist marriage portion. On the signing of this treaty the monarch became a widower; upon which event he his hand to the princess Mary, who a few months be thought the destined bride of Charles. Louis was fill years old, the princess sixteen, and much attached accomplished duke of Suffolk: her affection, however, to the offer of a throne : she was conducted to Abberta was married in that cathedral to Louis, who immediated ceeded with his youthful bride to St. Denis, where crowned, and thence to Paris, where she was received great public rejoicings.

Louis lived only three months after his marriage; be on the 1st of January, 1515, and in the March follows Henry received intelligence of his sister's marriage with former lover, the duke of Suffolk, who had been sent to vey her brother's condolence, and to conduct the way queen back to her native country. Francis, who had

rench throne, had advised this step, and had taken himself to promise that the duke's presumption should annunished by Henry. The latter seemed no ways to seal their pardon, and the two kings of France and and boasted of having concluded a peace and alliance could endure for ever.

he time Henry ascended the throne there appeared one - the inferior dependants of the court whose aspiring and superior talents rapidly enabled him to supplant competitor. Thomas Wolsey, a native of Ipswich*, ⊇lergyman, had been appointed in the last reign to be the royal chaplains. The manner in which he exeme secret negotiation at the imperial court raised him in ■imation of his sovereign, and before the death of VII. he had been collated to the deanery of Lincoln. was attached the office of almoner, which gave him Excility of access to the young monarch, who was capwith the elegance of his manners and the gaiety of position; so that he frequently resorted with his Te companions to the house of his almoner; and on these occasions, if we may believe an adversary, off the decencies of his station, and sang, and danced, roused, with all the levity and impetuosity of the most al of his guests. Foreigners and natives soon soli->r purchased the royal favour through his interest. ing the late war Wolsey had accompanied the king to e. Preferments poured in upon him; he was made of York, bishop of Lincoln, and, on the death of car-Bambridge, succeeded that prelate in the see of York. affuence preponderated in the council; and during fifrears he governed the kingdom with more absolute sway had fallen to the lot of any former minister. We are bliged to believe the tale that he took all this labour on If, that his master might have more leisure to indulge ssipation. The multitude of letters still extant, all

re is a tradition that he was the son of a batcher; but it is hardly reconcileable will of his father, whose bequests show him to have been a burgess of convolunce.

written by Henry or to Henry, demonstratively sh king himself devoted a great portion of his time tion to the cares of government.

The power and opulence of Wolsey continued to but the king found some difficulty in prevailing with accept the chancellorship, which was resigned by though three years after he shewed no objections to the dignity of papal legate, with which he was into Leo X. The commission, dated 1518, was originally to two years; but Wolsey solicited successing mine the office, and even obtained the investment powers, until he at length possessed and excellent realm nearly all the functions of the soverein did these attainments satisfy his ambition! We in him, at the death of each pope, labouring, built seat himself in the chair of St. Peter. And his loved was subordinate only to his love of power; he revenues of Hereford and Worcester, sees which granted to foreigners; he held in commendam St. Alban's, with the bishopric of Bath : as they cant, he exchanged Bath for the bishopric of Du Durham for the richer church of Winchester: beside received from Leo a yearly pension from the reven bishoprics of Toledo and Palencia in Spain. How but justice to his memory to observe, he did not wealth; his establishment was on a princely scale, prised eight hundred individuals. He spared no his building; as soon as he had finished the palace ton-court, and furnished it to his taste, he gave the his sovereign. Avoiding the venal praise of E the slanderous opinion of Polydore, Wolsey ma nounced a minister of consummate address, and co abilities; greedy of wealth, and power, and glor to exalt the throne on which his own greatness was the church, of which he was so distinguished a but capable, in the pursuit of these objects, of s expedients which sincerity and justice would dis of adopting, to indulge the caprice and passion es which involved him in contradictions and diffiand ultimately occasioned his ruin. Literature found 1 constant and bountiful patron. Oxford experienced ifficence in the endowment of seven lectureships and idation of Christ Church. The college at Ipswich. ce of his nativity, he erected as a nursery for that ment. As a politician, Wolsey was constantly inof the secret history of the continental courts, and e to pursue every event through all its probable cones, and to furnish his agents with instructions beforealmost every contingency. But his great object was ve the balance of power between the rival houses e and Austria; and since to this cause may be the unstable politics of the English cabinet, which ported the cause of Charles, and then repaired the fortunes of Francis, it may not be amiss to draw a etch of the different situations of these potentates. es of Austria enjoyed from his father the Netherlands. ancient patrimony of the house of Burgundy; and, eath of Ferdinand, ascended the Spanish throne in his mother Juana, who was daughter of that mo-In point of superiority of talents, a restless spirit of , and an eager desire of conquest, he was particularly to be the rival of the French king, Francis; and ence of their power was very nearly balanced, exthe authority of Charles was more circumscribed ghts and immunities still exercised by the cortes and lity of Spain.

nilian, king of the Romans, had felt anxious to be succession to the house of Austria in his family, requested of the electors, at the last diet, to name doon Charles to succeed him. His own unexpected we summoned them to choose an emperor. Charles notisentered the field as rival competitors. With the softhe French and Spanish courts on that occasion lish historian has little to do, but the conduct of the monarch demands his attention. Henry had, at a riod, refused the offer of the imperial crown from

The case, however, not see the inedicacy are included in the Spanish and the Spanish are included in the second included in the Spanish are in

France was a first inclined to as a linear of theory, he had already engaged with manufact in a letter massed Western fourteen wases in the masse, he sought an interview will be interference of Westey, was fix last day of Man, between Ardress and was then to be held, in which the France, with their several assistant parents at 60, tourney, and barries units, the two manufacts swere not they met. Frances was faithful to the because the fashion of the French.

gain the affection of Henry, and secure the friendship olsey.

eantime preparations for the royal interview were comed on the most magnificent scale. The residence of ry measured in compass four hundred and thirty-seven ls, and contained a sumptuous chapel and numerous state ments: that for Francis was equally magnificent. As as the kings had taken possession of their palaces, the wal paid a visit of two days to Francis, and certain prearies having been arranged, the two monarchs met and ced in the valley of Andern, and walked arm in arm pavilion, which had been erected for their reception. g six days they and their associates tilted with spears st all comers; the tourney, with the broadsword on back, employed two more; and the last was spent in ng at the barriers on foot. The queen and the ladies ed the combatants from the galleries, and every evening eats of the knights were duly registered by the heralds. two kings fought five battles each day, and in each they came every opponent; but such was the existing jealousy teen the two monarchs, that both left their residences at same hour, and conformed in all their movements to the s fixed for each, until Francis, weary of so much scruas precaution, one morning visited Henry whilst in his but the latter could not subdue his suspicious fears, sed to disguise himself on his return from Andern. In risit the two kings had tried to surpass each other in nificence of dress, and in the display of riches. The duke uckingham ventured to exclaim against so much useless Some writers have attributed his execution to the tment of Wolsey for this remark; but it may with much probability be alleged to the jealous caution of king y, who never spared any person from whose ambition he nosticated danger to himself or his posterity. The duke descendant of Edward III., and had allowed his vanity flattered by the pretended prophecy of Hopkins, the of Henton, who sometimes affected to foresee something in the fate of Stafford, the duke's son. When the duke

was at his own estate, Thornbury, he received a personder to attend the court, and as he was proceeding barge towards Greenwich he was arrested, and contenthe Tower. When he endeavoured to clear himself fire supposed charge of treason, Fineux, the chief justice, when that the crime consisted in imagining the death of the and that words might be satisfactory evidence of gination. On this vague supposition the person verdict, and the duke of Norfolk pronounced the judgment of death. He was beheaded of form the God have mercy on his soul," says the remaining for the duke of Buckingham was a most and prince, and the mirror of all courtesy."

Hostilities were now declared between Francisco the latter had displeased his new subjects the Spanish the ambition of Francis led him to take this opposition invade Spain and Italy with a French army. Lal Charles in repelling the invaders, and Milan was by their combined forces; on which occasion hastened to Rome to enjoy the triumph of victor, tered his capital in high spirits, and was thought excellent health; but he was suddenly attacked position, and in three days it was known that he was Intelligence of this event was dispatched to England Wolsey, who had declared it to be the wish of his live and die in the service of his native sovereign, lor declaration, and with a decent affectation of humility sented to place his shoulders under the burden of the Indeed, he not only consented, but sent messengers emperor; and secretary Pace went to sound the disposition the conclave. But he was destined to be disapper Adrian, the former preceptor of Charles, and at the bishop of Tortosa and viceroy of Spain, was elected papal throne; and Pace, according to the instructions received, conveyed Wolsey's congratulations to the new and obtained from him a prolongation of the less authority.

The emperor Charles made a second visit to English

ty was agreed upon, that when the princess Mary, the ster of Henry, should complete her twelfth year, she and es should be married by proxy; and the uncle and nealso agreed upon the invasion of France. The earl of y, who had gained such honours in the field of Flodden, ucceeded lord Kildare in the government of Ireland; ras now summoned by the king to take command of the destined for the invasion of France. But it was necessoraise money for the expedition, and the king and the al had recourse to very arbitrary measures for that pur-

At length their object was effected by a property tax. I'll mustered his army under the walls of Calais; and ober he led it back, without obtaining any additional of victory. Francis found means the following sumemploy the English army at home, by forming alliwith the enemies of Henry. The family of Desmond duced by his promises, which were never performed, the French army as soon as it should land in Ireland; ver to lay down their arms until they should have red a part of Henry's dominions. In Scotland he met willing ally in the duke of Albany.

England, the minister's chief embarrassment arose from nausted state of the treasury. A parliament was sumto meet at the Black Friars. Wolsey carried a royal ge to the house, intended to convince the members that ount of the offensive conduct of the French monarch, it was just and necessary: a calculation of the expenses at before them, and a proposal made to raise the amount, nundred thousand pounds, by a property tax of twenty int. It was in vain that Wolsey asked for an answer the astounded members; they remained obstinately simpon which the cardinal exclaimed, "Masters, unless meanner of your house (as very likely it may,) by your ronly in such cases to express your mind, here is, without, a most marvellous silence." And he retired in tent*. After some deliberation, a tax of five per cent.

**sardinsl afterwards sent for the speaker: "Would to God," said he, "Master 2 had been at Rome, when I made you speaker." "Your grace not offended," "so would I too, my lord."

upon every kind of property was agreed to. The most extorted was expended in repelling an invasion of the in supporting an expedition into France, and in firm means to the allies in Italy.

The war with Scotland, after raging ten years, the expulsion of the duke of Albany, who sailed in never more to return. The earl of Angus residence of regent, in right of his wife, Margard, and of James IV., who was left regent of the kingle of dian to his son, then an infant under two years.

While Francis was employed in combating enemies, he was ignorant that a confeder forming in the heart of his dominions; at the was Charles, duke of Burgundy, who to his superior talents, and the influence of immens feelings of this nobleman had often been wound from Francis, and also by Louise, the mother which produced in the duke's mind the spirit of to he lent himself to the suggestions of lord Boun John Russell, the secret envoys from Charles Together they determined on the invasion of Pa gundy, and Guienne; while it was intended the with his numerous friends and retainers, should standard of rebellion in the interior of France. ever, became the principal theatre of the war; " success of the French arrested until the army " walls of Milan, which, from its former suffering tyranny of a French master, offered a brave defend a siege of some weeks obliged the enemy to retire quarters.

About this period pope Adrian died, an event newed the expiring hopes of Wolsey, as the king Charles the performance of the promises former favour of the English cardinal; and Henry's Rome had orders to spare neither money nor protect attainment of this object. But they were furnish sets of letters to answer either contingency, the the royal favourite, or, in case of a failure that

Giulio de' Medici. The latter was elected pope, the title of Clement VII. He conferred the legatine y for life on Wolsey, a favour which, in some measure, sated the cardinal for his disappointment. During there the French army were driven out of Italy; and a, in whom success had increased the thirst of revenge, Charles to carry the ravages of war into the heart of while Henry, to whom it was not convenient to glish troops into that quarter, consented to pay his e half of the expense. But Clement, to put a stop ar, offered to act as mediator between the different

The king of England refused to separate his intem that of his nephew; and said, that if any negotiaintended to take place before his holiness, a secret. edited, agent, from the French cabinet should be sen nperial and the English courts. In compliance with posal, Giovanni Joacchino appeared at Boulogne, y of a merchant, and required a passport to Eng-This pretended merchant was in the service of Louise, f France; and Wolsey acquainted De Praet, the imabassador, of his real character; promising, at the ie, to inform De Praet of whatever overtures should ough his agency. But the ambassador soon became of the frequent interviews between the cardinal and o, and communicated his suspicions to his court. occasion his messenger was stopped on the road. etence that he was a vagrant, and the dispatches he ut him were deciphered, and read before the council. , though Wolsey justified it by saying that it was merely al. was resented as an insult. Wolsey, acting under hat the pontiff was inclined to favour the cause of had desired the bishop of Bath to lay a statement of eircumstances before him; but previous to those disreaching their destination, Francis had been comsurrender himself at the battle of Pavia, and was the of the emperor. To the relief of Henry, Richard e, the pretender to the English throne, was left on among the slain.

The English cabinet, on receiving the news, dispate messengers to request of Charles to frustrate, by every me the liberation of Francis; and to propose that Henry un nephew should join in the invasion of France, for the purp of placing the first on the French throne, and of restorns the latter the territory of the house of Burgundy. To prose this plan a vast supply of money was wanted; and the tempted to raise it by an especial exercise of the notice gative. He asked a fourth part of the clergy, and aire the laity, which demands being resisted, he had more than mode of a "benevolence;" but the spirit displace umphed over the despotism of the king, and the line minister. The state of the emperor's treasury ale to reject his uncle's proposal, and inclined him the ransom of his captive, as the principal means in the might hope to liquidate the arrears of his victorius Italy. A coolness between Henry and his nepher grew out of these events, and ended in causing peace between Henry and Francis, which the Free purchased with many sacrifices. Francis ratified tions, both during his confinement, and after his rese principal of the French nobility bound themselves, forfeiture of all their property, to observe them, and we the king by all the means in their power to fulfil the ment: while, at that very time, the attorney and general of the parliament of Paris entered on the register a solemn protest against the whole transacting order that Francis might, at a future time, found a protest a refusal to fulfil his obligation.

The captive monarch, at his own request, was removed the fortress of Pizzighitone to the Alcazor of Madrid; the imperial ministers, who feared the result of an important between Francis and Charles, contrived that the present the latter should be required at an assembly of the constroledo, where his attention was drawn by the solicitation his subjects to marry, in order to preserve the succession his family. An ambassador was sent to London to formal demand of the princess Mary; to which Henry

circumstances prevented his nephew from waiting till ighter was of mature age, he was at liberty to select r consort. In a few weeks Charles married Isabella, of Portugal.

French and imperial ministers were in the mean time y employed in arranging the conditions of the captive th's release; and on that occasion Francis left a lasting of his insincerity: for, on the day on which he signed aty, he read to a few friends a protest against the of the act; and then, with the predetermination to his promise, wrote his signature, and afterwards conthe deed with the additional obligation of a solemn

on as the particulars of the treaty of Madrid became the English cabinet put into action its diplomatic by sending two confidential agents, sir Thomas Cheney. Taylor, with unlimited powers, to use at their distbe arts of cunning and dissimulation, persuasion imidation, in order to prevent Francis from fulfilling agements to Charles. The ambassadors found the restored monarch fully disposed to profit by their; he expressed his gratitude for the interference of the England, and declared his resolution to be guided by all his future transactions with the emperor.

progress of the reformation in England may be dated his period; though its origin more properly arose in the Urban II., when, in the council of Clermont, that pontiff to the adventurers, who should engage in emancipating of Jerusalem from the yoke of the infidels, a "plenary ence:" which enacted that all who, having confessed in swith true repentance of heart, should engage in the ion, should be exempted, in consequence of their rry exposition to labours and dangers, from the canoenance to which, otherwise, they were liable. In the of Lyons a similar indulgence was extended to such a who, being unable to go themselves, contributed to ainment of the object, by voluntary contributions. That period, whenever money was required for any

purpose connected with the interests of religion, an industry was offered to the people; until it was found that this purpose the cause of abuse on two accounts. First, then so obtained was frequently diverted from its intended nation, into the private coffers of the poulif, or interessuries of the secular princes. Secondly, the again collected the contributions, being allowed a percentage amount, often found it their interest to exaggent the tages of the indulgence, and thus impose on the second.

Julius II., in order to raise money for erecting a magnificent temple in the capital world, published an indulgence through Polantimes which his successor, Leo X., extended to the vinces of Germany. The papal commission was Tetzel, a Dominican friar, as the delegate of Alianti was addressed. Tetzel had filled the same office Teutonic knights; but many of his brethren, with preaching in favour of the commission, with preaching in favour of the commission.

Staupitz, vicar of the friars of St. Augusting either by the spirit of opposition towards the Domina from a feeling of resentment that the office of collection not been given to himself, selected as his agent, to of doctrine of indulgences, Martin Luther, professor of a versity of Wittemberg; a man of an ardent min. impeached morals, and who entertained strong P against the court of Rome. He was now in his the year, and had already acquired celebrity by the bolden which he maintained the opinions of Plato in prefer those of Aristotle. In the year 1517 he comment task assigned him, by composing ninety-five theses nature of indulgences, and the errors of the collectors he inclosed in a letter to the archbishop, accompanied threat, that unless a speedy remedy was found for the an orthodox writer would expose the falsehood of the data taught under the sanction of his authority. Copies were dispersed throughout Germany. The propositions ined in them were presented in the form of doubts, had suggested themselves to the mind of the profesho submitted them, as subjects of discussion, for the purpose of discovering and establishing the truth. possessed a particular claim to public notice in being ned with frequently repeated sarcasms against the rapacity court of Rome, and exposing the avarice of collectors eneral. The Dominican friars refuted Luther with th, and he replied with greater warmth. Some prognosd very serious results from this controversy; while others amused with observing the logic and the vehemence of tries. In the latter class was pope Leo, who remarked, brother Martin was a man of talent; but that the diswas nothing more than a squabble among friars."

ther, however, became apprehensive of exciting the of Leo, and concluded a letter to the pope with these : "Wherefore, most holy father, I throw myself prosat your feet with all that I have or am. My life and are in your hands. Call or recall me, approve or conme, as you please, I shall acknowledge your voice as ice of Christ, who presides and speaks in your person." us was the mere effusion of the moment, as Luther soon led his researches to other articles of the established creed. aintained at Heidelberg, both in word and writing, y the fall of Adam man has been deprived of the use will. The auditor of the papal court had cited him to , but on hearing of his conduct at Heidelberg, he proed him a heretic; and the legate in Germany, cardinal an, had orders to summon Luther before him, and to re him if he shewed himself to be penitent; otherwise, p him in custody until he received further notice.

e preacher petitioned that his cause might be heard in any, and the city of Augsburg was appointed; where er, with his friend Lintz, met Cajetan, Staupitz the and Urbano the envoy from Montserrat; and they frequent conversations together. On one occasion or affected to yield to the opinions of the holy see, but



favourite establishment; and who, instead of a tracted students to the university.

Leo had by this time published a bull, which the pope, as the successor of St. Peter, and the vit upon earth, possesses the power of granting. eauses, certain indulgences in favour of such of as are in a state of grace, whether they be alive the remission of the temporal punishment due of actual sin. This bull probed the sincerity of Luther submitting, as he had promised, to the decision he appealed, by a formal instrument, to a general plunged into the abyss of grace, free will, and pri and laboured, it was evident, to subvert the doc existing church, that he might raise another o concurring circumstances warranted the forma opinion. Latterly the minds of men had been 1 contented by frequent complaints of the expedient been practised in the papal court, to fill its tre expense of the natives; and many thousands ra selves under the banner of the innovator, not fro alter the ancient faith, but solely from the hope of abuses. The chief of the German prelates, 1 1007

of conversation, and all Germany was in a ferment. wer converted the general state of feeling to his own pur-The people contended for civil, he for religious liberty. Prote of "Christian freedom," and against the "bondage 26ylon:" and liberty was always in his mouth and in his RS_ Added to these several causes was another, and a erful one, in a numerous body of scholars called who devoted themselves to study, and thus obextensive sway over the public mind: the bitterest beisted between them and the Theologians; they ch other "barbarian and infidel." The Dominican whom belonged the censorship of books, were peects of hatred to the Humanists, and all these events produced feelings new and perplexing Europe. After many useless attempts to bring ck to his duty, pope Leo issued his order to the of the Augustinian friars to reclaim or coerce their at brother; but Luther increased the spirit of conaddressing an insulting letter to the pontiff, whose he affected to pity, because the writer, observed he, at ed in the midst of the abominations of Babylon. Leo, S Condemned the assertions of Luther as heretical, alhim sixty days in which to retract his errors; and then, nse Quence of his obstinate perseverance, excommunicated Upon this, Luther called an assembly of the inhabi-Wittemberg, and with much solemnity threw into the of a funeral pile, which he had erected without the walls, the books of the canon law, the works of his oppo-Eccius and Emser, and the bull of pope Leo against joself, exclaiming, "Because ye have troubled the holy of Lord, we shall be burnt with everlasting fire."

The election of Charles, as emperor, in 1520, afforded to ather the opportunity of endeavouring to alienate his mind om the see of Rome: but Charles continued firm in his belief, and Luther having been examined at the diet at Worms, and aving proved himself to be the author of the works which are his name, he received a sentence of banishment from the critory of the empire. In consequence of this sentence, his

friend, the elector, caused him to be conveyed to a solitary castle in the mountains, from whence he secretly to issue his writings. In England his we condemned and publicly burnt, and the English wrote a treatise in defence of the seven sacraments, public believed to have been revised and improved dinal Wolsey and the bishop of Rochester; and win carried by Clarke, dean of Windsor, to Rome, on Henry the title of "defender of the faith." Let the title by a formal bull, and the king afternation a confirmation of the grant from Clement III for forced a reply from Luther, but conched in language as to provoke the king to publish a miffed answer.

In a few months the reformer returned to Witten brought with him his German translation of the st but soon the increase of new teachers kept pace will crease of new religionists, and these teachers disco they had as good a right to infallibility as Luther, to dispute many of his doctrines, and to reform to himself. Of these the most distinguished was Zuits severed from his empire the cities of Strasburg, Lind stance, and Memmingen. Muncer erected his standar hausen in Thuringia. He taught the natural equality the abolition of every authority not founded on the tenets which caused the princes of the empire to tre their political existence; and Luther, in order to ju self from the charge, that his doctrines first cause declared, that Muncer was inspired and aided by At length this insurrection was suppressed by the deavours of the Catholics and the Lutherans; but ale formed at Torgau, which the perusal of a few mi will shew was intended to support and to propagal doctrine.

The many important concerns of national interclaimed public notice at this period have hitherto he writer from treating of the private and, some more interesting subject, the domestic occurre Lis reign. The amiable and prudent conduct of Catharine ag the period of trial and suspense which preceded her iage with king Henry, had obtained her the love of the le: her consequent behaviour after she became the queen ort, had secured to her their affection and esteem. Of alive children she bore to Henry, the princess Mary was july one that lived. She was born on the 8th of Februain the year 1513; her sponsors at baptism were the carnot York, the lady Catharine, daughter of Edward IV., he duchess of Norfolk. Her style was proclaimed at the had door by the officers at arms: "God give good life and unto the right high, right noble, and right excellent printary, princess of England, and daughter of our sovereign the king." She alone, of the issue of this marriage, surliner parents.

or some years the king acknowledged himself happy in virtues of his accomplished consort; but neither virtue accomplishments could long fix the inconstant heart of monarch. By the first of the royal mistresses, Elizabeth, ther of sir John Blount and relict of sir Gilbert Tailbois. ry had a son, whom he named Henry Fitzroy. To him zing shewed himself so strongly attached, that it was feared he meant to name him his successor, to the prejudice of egitimate child, but to his great disappointment Fitzroy died eighteenth year of his age. Elizabeth Tailbois had been eeded in the king's affections by Mary Boleyn, and she was a supplanted by the more powerful attractions of Anne, her ager sister, who had been a royal favourite from infancy. he age of seven, Anne had accompanied the king's sister y, as her maid of honour, to the court of France. At the n of that princess to England, Anne remained behind, and I the same situation with Claude the queen of Francis I.; stayed in the French court until recalled to England by sing, previous to his declaration of war, in 1522. He then her the same distinguished post about the person of the n Catharine. Anne excelled the English ladies in her mplishments, which, with her beauty and her attractive er, gained her a number of admirers, and among "

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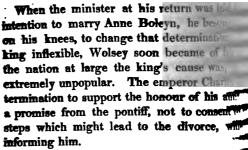
When the minister at his return was told by Henry of intention to marry Anne Boleyn, he besought the mound on his knees, to change that determination; but finding king inflexible, Wolsey soon became of his opinion the nation at large the king's cause was, on every extremely unpopular. The emperor Charles declared bettermination to support the honour of his aunt, and a promise from the pontiff, not to consent to the steps which might lead to the divorce, without informing him.

Several months passed in useless negotiation pope and his captors; and Clement, weary from his confinement, in the disguise of a garde arrived in the city of Orvieto, he was then the English envoys, who required his signature was ment to empower Wolsey to hear and decide the the divorce; and to a second, which granted to dispensation to marry, in the place of Catharine, woman whomsoever, even if she were already proanother, or related to himself within the first affinity. The latter instrument Clement signed; former also, when it had been remodelled by the Santi Quatri. Henry next requested that a carde Rome might be joined in the commission with Wa England. The pontiff offered to Henry the choir six, and added, "The king appears to me to have most circuitous route. If he be convinced in his come as he affirms, that his present marriage is null, it marry again. This will enable me, or the legate, W the question at once. Otherwise, I foresee that by exceptions, and adjournments, the cause must be profor many years*."

At the solicitation of his minister, Henry, in comwith his promise to the French monarch, sent his defithe emperor Charles, who, having delivered to Charan eloquent justification of his conduct, added: grant that I may not have better reason to dely his

Moncado, governor of Naples, took this occasion to adence secretly to the walls of Rome, seized its gates, forced pope to seek refuge in the castle of St. Angelo, and took passession of the treasures of the Vatican. In the May folwing, Rome was sacked by an army of adventurers, who ad fled to Bourbon's standard. The Spaniards and Italians lundered the houses and palaces in the city; the Germans, tho had embraced the doctrines of Luther, despoiled the hurches and convents; every kind of outrage was comnitted, and the contemporary writers maintained that the Eternal City suffered more from the ravages of a Christian rmy, than it had ever done from the hostility of pagan bar-In this same year, 1527, the kings of England and France were busy in planning offensive leagues and matrimonial alliances. Henry, to widen the breach between his nephew Charles and Francis, offered to the latter the hand of his daughter Mary, when she should attain the age of puberty. The bishop of Tarbes put a question respecting the legitimacy of the princess, which, as it was not in his instructions, was alleged to come from the suggestion of Wolsey, to afford the king some pretext for the divorce. Certain it is, that Henry made frequent use of the bishop's question in furtherance of his wish. The news of the pope's captivity was received by the king and Wolsey with outward marks of sorrow, but inward feelings of pleasure; and the cardinal went to Sotiate in person with Francis respecting the probable Trantages to be derived from Clement's confinement. One of the treaty signed on that occasion stipulated that, We the pontiff remained a captive, the concerns of each church should be conducted by its own bishops; at the judgments of Wolsey in his legatine court, er might be the rank of the party condemned, should, nce of any papal prohibition, be carried into immexecution. The king, delighted with this part of the expressed his satisfaction in a letter to the cardinal; expressed his calculation of the joy he felt at his own s, assured the mother of Francis that, in less than months, she should see a princess of her own blood on the throne of England.





Several months passed in useless negotiate pope and his captors; and Clement, weary from his confinement, in the disguise of a gui arrived in the city of Orvieto, he was English envoys, who required his signature ment to empower Wolsey to hear and decident the divorce; and to a second, which grantaled dispensation to marry, in the place of Catherina woman whomsoever, even if she were already another, or related to himself within the first affinity. The latter instrument Clement significant former also, when it had been remodelled by Santi Quatri. Henry next requested that a con Rome might be joined in the commission with England. The pontiff offered to Henry the six, and added, "The king appears to me to be most circuitous route. If he be convinced in his as he affirms, that his present marriage is marry again. This will enable me, or the legal the question at once. Otherwise, I foresee that exceptions, and adjournments, the cause must be for many years*."

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it be God's pleasure, I
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bow the great pains
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: but the caution for all the finesse promises could he should rendictates of his been taken, the they declared I succeed Henry ormors, Henry rds of the court, and before them. ek an alliance I long disturbed cother's widow. decision of the and dismissed tured to arraign surch was made London For king Henry tea to no purpose Importance 6 thes C

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At the solicitation of his minister, Henry, in compliance with his promise to the French monarch, sent his defiance to the emperor Charles, who, having delivered to Clarencieux an eloquent justification of his conduct, added: "God grant that I may not have better reason to defy him than

has to defy me. Can I pass over the injury with which threatens my aunt, by his application for a divorce, or the mark which he has offered to me by soliciting me to marry, daughter, whom he now pronounces a bastard? But I may perfectly aware from whom these suggestions proceed. I would not satisfy the rapacity of the cardinal of York, nor employ my forces to seat him in the chair of St. Peter; and he, in return, has sworn to be revenged, and now seeks to fulfil his purpose. But, if war ensue, let the blood that must be shed rest, where it ought, on the head of him who is the original instigator of it *."

In England the merchants refused to frequent the new marts which had been opened in France, as substitutes for those in the Netherlands; and a spirit of disaffection shewed itself throughout the kingdom. Wolsey stood alone in the cabinet. Sir Thomas More, who was one of the council, tells us that, when the other members advised the king to let Charles and Francis quarrel by themselves, the cardinal always repeated a fable of "certain wise men, who foresaw that a great rain was coming which would make fools of all whom it should fall upon, and to escape it hid themselves under-ground; but when they came out, they found the fools numerous, that instead of governing them, they were forced to submit to be governed by them." Whence he inferred, "that if the English sat still, while the fools fought, the fools would at last unite and fall upon them."

Recourse was again had to the authority of Clement, who, believing, or affecting to believe, that the king was acting from conscientious motives, authorized Wolsey, with the aid of one more English prelate, to inquire summarily, and without judicial forms, into the validity of the dispensation granted by Julius, and of the marriage between Henry and Catharine; and to pronounce, in defiance of exception or appeal, according to his conscience. Many and great difficulties now arose from the minute investigation of canonists and divines: negotiations continually passed through Gardiner and Fox, the

[.] LINGARD, vol. vi. p. 173.

agents of Wolsey, to the pontiff; and at length a decreally was obtained, and entrusted to the care of the legate, on peggio, with strict orders, when he had read it to Henry Wolsey, that he should privately commit it to the flame.

At this juncture, the disease, which in the year 1455 such ravages in England, under the name of the sum sickness, again made its appearance; but experience taught the cure: the patient who felt its approach is ness and head-ache, was directly put to bed, a mine spiration followed, and in twenty-four hours the over. If perspiration was checked, delirium few hours life was extinguished. At court was shewed itself among the attendants of Annelin ! was removed by the king's order to the house of mines Kent: where she had the disorder and recovered be the contagion of this sickness, king Henry joined in in her devotional exercises, and they lived in the harmony. Wolsey felt apprehensive of the district concealed himself in some retreat, apart from will family. No sooner did the contagion cease, than the recalled his mistress to court. She used every means cover her empire over her lover, and her letters wall dinal, at that period, form a singular contrast with duct towards him, when he could no longer serve hat! following extracts from Burnet will shew :-

The existence of the bull, and the authenticity of the promise, have been no one can doubt of either who has read the original correspondence. It is always called "the chirograph of pollicitation." If we may believe the bull pronounced the marriage between Henry and Catharine unlawful mains could be proved before the legates that Arthur was the king's brother; is and Catharine had reached the years of puberty when they married, marriage, "as far as presumptions can prove," was consummated between

ate, I desire that much; and if it be God's pleasure, I m to send this matter shortly to a good end, and then, my lord, to recompense part of your great pains." In r letter she says:—"I do know the great pains bubles that you have taken for me, both day and night, r like to be recompensed on my part, but alonely in you, next to the king's grace, above all creatures.' In a third: "I assure you, that after this matter is it to pass, you shall find me, as I am bound in the time to owe you my service: and then look what thing world I can imagine to do you pleasure in, you shall the gladdest woman in the world to do it, and next e king's grace, of one thing I make you full promise to red to have it, and that is, my hearty love, unfeignedly, my life."

peggio was well received by the king; but the caution ed by this Italian was quite a match for all the finesse sing and Wolsey: neither flattery nor promises could from him any other reply than that "he should renking every service consistent with the dictates of his nce." Though every precaution had been taken, the f the people was not to be silenced: they declared husband of the princess Mary should succeed Henry hrone. In order to silence public murmurs, Henry ned the members of the council, the lords of the court, principal citizens, into his presence, and before them ed the motives which urged him to seek an alliance rance, described the scruples which had long disturbed id with regard to his marrying his brother's widow, em his determination to abide by the decision of the es appointed to be judges of his cause, and dismissed ith a caution "to beware how they ventured to arraign duct." Yet had Henry his fears; a search was made s, and strangers were ordered to leave London. For nonths after the arrival of Campeggio, king Henry rein the uncertainty of suspense. It was to no purpose fferent agents from the English court importuned the vith promises and threats: he declared that Catharin must not be denied the rights of justice; and that when his conscience was concerned, he was insensible to the demands of interest, or the threats of danger. Queen Catharine was banished the court, and Anne Boleyn occupied the magnifical apartments contiguous to those of the king, and held be levees, which were attended in the same manner as had been those of the queen Catharine. At length the court met in the parliament chamber, at the Black Friars, and summoned the king and queen before them. Upon the latter being called by name, she rose from her seat, and entered her protest to the proceeding, on three grounds: because she was a stranger; because the judges held benefices in the realm, the gift of her adversary; and because she had good reason to believe that justice could not be obtained in a court constituted like the present. On the refusal of the cardinals to admit her appeal, she rose a second time, and throwing herself at the king's feet, "I beseech you," she said, "to pity me, a woman and a stranger, without an assured friend, and without an indifferent counsellor. I take God to witness, that I have always been to you a true and loyal wife; that I have made it my constant duty to seek your pleasure; that I have lovel all whom you loved, whether I had reason or not, whether they were friends to me or foes. I have been your wife for years; I have brought you many children. God knows that when I came to your bed I was a virgin, and I put it to your own conscience to say whether it was not so. If there beany offence which can be alleged against me, I consent to deput with infamy: if not, then I pray you do me justice. *" She made a low obeisance, and retired. An officer followed to recall her into the court, but she refused; and was pronounced, on that account, contumacious.

In consequence of repeated adjournments the trial lasted during that whole session, and when, on the last day, the counsel on the king's side called for the judgment of the court, Campeggio replied, that judgment must be deferred until the proceedings had been carried before the pope; and adjourned the court. Upon which the duke of Suffolk ex-

[.] LINGARD, vol. vi. page 200.

ned. "That the old saw was verified; never did cardinal g good to England.*" Now Wolsey, conceiving this an aded insult to himself, replied, "Sir, of all men living you least reason to dispraise cardinals; for if I, a poor car-I, had not been, you would not at this present have had a . upon your shoulders, wherewith to make such a bray in pute of us, who have meant you no harm, and have given cause of offence. If you, my lord, were the king's mssador in foreign parts, would you venture to decide on • rtant matters without first consulting your sovereign? are also commissioners, and cannot proceed to judgment Dut the knowledge of him from whom our authority pro-Therefore do we neither more nor less than our com-Ion alloweth; and if any man will be offended with us, s an unwise man. Pacify yourself then, my lord, and Ik not reproachfully of your best friend. You know what dship I have shewn you: but this is the first time I ever aled it, either to my own praise, or your dishonour." court was now dissolved; and Campeggio dismissed thanks, and various presents. At Dover his trunks searched, under pretence that he was conveying the ures of Wolsey: but, as some supposed, to find the stal bull, or the letters of Anne Boleyn. These, howhad been sent beforehand by the legate's son, Bidolto, are still preserved in the Vatican library.

mne had all along entertained a secret enmity towards sey; the pope had revoked the commission of the legates, she now availed herself of the present turn in affairs, to on the ear of the king, by her artful insinuations against cardinal. Assisted by her father, and the dukes of Norand Suffolk, who were interested in procuring his downthey succeeded in representing to the king that his write had never earnestly prosecuted the divorce; and he had uniformly sacrificed the interests of his sovereign

MEARD, vol, vi. page 204.

The legate Campeggio, after the death of his wife in 1509, had taken had as honoured with the cardinal's cap in 1517. He was an eminent coordinated statesman; and had been frequently employed by Leo, and his rate and important negotiations.

to those of France. But, though Henry allowed the bloments of the "night-crow," as Wolsey denominate to obtain a promise from her lover, that he would not speak to his former favourite; and though he institute iniquitous prosecution against him, which deprived honours and dignities, and forced him to select his reat the distance of two hundred miles from the court; and the distance of two hundred miles from the court; and but, from time to time, sent him assurances of his conditional against him into the House of Commons, Henry caused be against him into the agency of Cromwell.

The conduct of Wolsey after his disgrace was calculate further obtain the esteem of men; in so much, that more than the historian observes, that the best eulogy on his characters to be found in the contrast between the conduct of Henry 1113 his passions were confined within certain bounds, through influence of his minister; and the king's unrestrained and violence, which alarmed his subjects, and astonis other nations of Europe, from the period of that ministers.

It has been falsely asserted that Wolsey poisoned himmer but Wordsworth has shewn that passage to have been an interpolation, and not contained in the manuscript copies. On his being arrested for treason, he shewed no sign of guilt: and with an anxious desire to be confronted with his accusers. was proceeding with as much expedition as the state of his health would allow, when, from the effects of dysentery, he said to the abbot, as he entered the monastery of Leicester. " Father abbot, I am come to lay my bones among you." On seeing Kingston, the lieutenant of the Tower, in his chamber, he said, " Master Kingston, I pray you have me commended to his majesty; and beseech him, on my behalf, to call to mind all things that have passed between us, especially respecting good queen Catharine and himself; and then shall his grace's conscience know whether I have offended him or not. He is a prince of most royal courage; rather than miss any part of his will, he will endanger one

For his kingdom: and I do assure you, I have often the before him, sometimes for three hours together, to made him from his appetite, and could not prevail. And, it kingston, had I but served God as diligently as I served the king, he would not have given me over in my mairs. But this is my just reward for my pains and it regarding my service to God, but only my duty to the ce." He died on the 29th of November, 1530, in the hyear of his age; and at the moment that he was a maing a vigilant defence of the ecclesiastical estates against the innovations of the Lutherans.

Volsey quitted the court, a change of those who held st offices formed nearly a new cabinet, the members consisted of persons who favoured the cause of the but there was great difficulty in selecting a chan-* Inst office having, by custom, been held by some itary of the church. It was now given to sir Thomas ho had been long celebrated as a scholar and a lawyer, se merit was universally known and acknowledged. ding to the opinion of the French court, Anne Boleyn estensible minister, who, through her uncle and father, ced the cabinet, and, by her personal charms, ruled The first act of the new ministry was the passing bills in opposition to the papal authority: one attacked munities of the clergy; the other, the privileges of the mle, as it released the king from the payment of any loans money which had been made him by his subjects, on the and that the present prosperity of the nation, under his care, called upon them to shew their gratitude by selling his debts. The king's anxiety to obtain the divorce unabated; and, with a hope of forwarding the proceed-. he employed the father of his mistress, with Stokesley, several others, among whom was Thomas Cranmer, wards archbishop of Canterbury, on an embassy to the and his nephew Charles, who were then together on a iliatory visit at Bologna.

heir instructions were, openly, to treat of a general consacy against the Turks; and secretly, to warn the pope against the treachery of Charles; and, by the offer of a protein induce the pontiff to do justice to Henry, as the firmed port of the see of Rome.

The pope could only promise to do for Henry conscience would permit. To the great offers Charles that prince replied, that he was not a me sell the honour of his aunt; and seeing the earl of Anue's father, about to address him, he said, " allow your colleagues to speak ; you are a party in the But Henry purchased the favour of France, and ital sities, by cancelling a debt from Francis to himselds hundred thousand crowns, and returning to him thesa diamonds which Philip of Burgundy had formerly pless. Henry VII. for the loan of fifty thousand crowns. where the public voice was against the act of divorce and it was only by finesse and dexterous management majority in favour of the measure was at length from the universities of Paris, Orleans, and Toulouse the king had not obtained anything decisive from * and he was informed by his agents that Clemen shortly be compelled, by the importunities of the inro to issue an inhibitory breve, forbidding all courts and to give judgment in the cause of Henry against He now began to waver, and remarked to one of fidants, that he had been deceived in the assurance pope's approbation might be easily obtained, and abandon the attempt for ever. The king's words w pered to Anne Boleyn, whose aptitude for intrigut suggested a mode for success. Cromwell, the son of a li the neighbourhood of London, who had served as a troop the wars of Italy, had passed from the army to the offer Venetian merchant, whose counter he had exchanged for study of the law, and Wolsey had found his services Cromwell had adopted the sentiments of Machiavel, the and virtue were but names, and pernicious to him who promotion in the courts of princes. Acting on these ciples, he quitted the service of his patron when he Esher, and prevailed with the new ministers to continu

s office of steward over the lands of the dissolved mo-Fries: a situation for which his services to Wolsey had red him competent. This man having obtained an ence of the king, professed, with all seeming humility, his ness to give advice, declared his affection and his duty and not allow him to remain silent, and hoped his presation would be forgiven in stating to his sovereign the ibility that the difficulties he had so long laboured under of from the timidity of his counsellors, who followed too ... y outward appearances, and the opinions of the vulgar. the consent of the pope of such importance, as to oblige ing to forego his rights? Would it not be better to is the example of the German princes, and throw off the of Rome, and, with the authority of parliament, declare elf the head of the church within his own realms? Henry jied with surprise and pleasure. He thanked Cromwell, ordered him to be sworn of his privy council. Nor did iffer many weeks to elapse before he got himself acknowad in both houses of parliament as the chief protector. only and supreme lord, and, as far as the law of st will allow, the supreme head of the church and clergy ingland *." When a deputation waited on the queen to est that, for the quiet of the king's conscience, she would : the matter to the decision of four temporal and four itual peers, " God grant him quiet conscience," she reif: "but this shall be your answer—I am his wife lawfully ried to him by right of holy church; and so I will abide I the court of Rome, which was privy to the beginning, .l have made thereof an end." And when a second depuon waited upon her, with an order to leave the palace of dsor, "Go where I may," she answered, "I shall still nis lawful wife." They never saw each other more from day, the 14th of August, 1531. Catharine acquainted pope with her expulsion from court; and Clement, who

Cunstall, bishop of Durham, had the courage to protest against it. If the clause nothing more than that the king was head in temporals, why, he saked, did it not of I it meant that he was the head in spirituals, it was contrary to the doct establishing and he called on all present to witness his dissent from it, we the entry of his protest among the note of the convocation.

really felt a partiality for Henry, wrote to him an affection remonstrance on his conduct, and asked him to recula queen and dismiss her rival, as a duty he owed to him adding that "Clement would receive it as a favour, the signal favour, which Henry had ever conferred on tolic see."

The king, however, was inexorable; and, following proposed by Cromwell, continued to abridge the p clergy, and to act in open hostility to the court of the ensuing summer he procured an interview with a monarch, for the purpose of concerting measures to within narrower limits the pretensions of the holy soe the king found Francis very differently disposed; for evidently desirous to promote a reconciliation beuge courts of England and Rome, so that Henry was induced to promise Francis that he would meet hir in pontiff either in person or by the first nobleman int Marseilles, in order to the effecting an amicable set = their differences. Five years had now passed in var on the part of Henry to obtain a divorce; three of had cohabited with Anne Bolevn, whom he had created marchioness of Pembroke, with a yearly pen one thousand pounds; but three months later, she profile be in a condition to give him an heir, he summoned Dr. 1 one of the royal chaplains, to celebrate mass at a very u hour in a garret at the western end of the palace in Wh hall. There the doctor found the king, with Norms Heneage, two grooms of the chamber; and Anne Bolt with Anne Savage, afterwards lady Berkeley. The king Anne were married, and the parties separated in sil The marriage was afterwards represented as having place at an earlier period. The judgment, in the cau the divorce, was not pronounced till the 2nd of Marc lowing. Two months after the performance of the mar ceremony, the death of archbishop Warham gave to the an opportunity of raising to that dignity one whose do promised a more subservient minister. This was Tl Cranmer, a dependant on the Boleyn family, and who ed the cause of the divorce at Rome. The mode by e schooled his conscience as to the difficulty of swearing al obedience to the pope, when he intended to act in ion to the papal authority, was a security of future to his royal master. In the presence of four wit-Cranmer declared he took the oath of obedience to the nly for form, without intending that it should operate any reforms that he might consider useful to the of England. With this salvo he cheerfully took the al oath before his consecration, and at the delivery of ium. In speaking of the controversy which followed of Cranmer, Lingard gives his own opinion, "that ease to offer any security, if their meaning may be d by previous protestations, made without the knowf the party who is principally interested."

divorce was now proceeded in, by the industry of ell, the casuistry of Cranmer, and the newly made law crown, by which authority the king informed the new that "the sovereign had no superior on earth, and subject to the laws of any earthly creature." An act rment was passed forbidding appeals from the spiritual n England to the courts of the pontiff; and the new . having summoned a convocation, pronounced the e between Henry and Catherine to be null and void cond court at Lambeth, Cranmer officially declared. had confirmed, by his judicial and pastoral authority. criage of Henry and Anne. The coronation of the Onsort was then celebrated with the greatest possible cence, and in three months after that event, the Elizabeth was born; to the grievous disappointthe king, who was desirous of having a male heir to ne. Mean time Catherine, who had fixed her residence thill, received an order to adopt the title of princess of and her income was reduced to the pension settled er by her first husband, Arthur.

Element, when informed of what had passe of Henry, was in the greatest perplexity; the ries and Ferdinand, that he would do justice.

aunt, those of his own ministers, urging him to aven insult offered to the papal authority, and the arguments French ambassadors, requesting the adoption of measures, in hopes that the expected meeting of O and Francis would be the means of reconciling Henry church, rendered the mind of the pontiff wavering and in lute. In order to do something, he annulled the given by Cranmer; and excommunicated Henry unless they should separate before the end of Oaks the spring of 1534, Clement, notwithstanding for Henry, was compelled, by the majority of mes and sistory summoned for the purpose of giving cause of Henry and Catherine, to pronouns lawful and valid, to condemn the proceedings as unjust; and to order the king to take her take legitimate wife *.

On the other hand, the writers of the queen's party maintained, "That he in Leviticus to marry a brother's wife, was not a law of nature, but only a which Moses had sufficiently shewn, by commanding, in Deuteronomy, in marry his brother's widow, when he died without children, demonstrained tion, that the law admitted of dispensation, and consequently was not a lart that before Moses that law was of no force, because Jacob married Landtwo sisters; and Judah, after he had married two of his sons to Tamat.

In the controversy on the subject of the divorce, the king's panjulate laws of Moses which concerned marriage, were not particular for the for all times and all nations; and that the prohibition to marry he be not less strict than that of marrying within the degrees of consagnise the down in Leviticus.

[&]quot;That that law was never repealed nor explained by Jesus Christ alse "But that, on the contrary, St. John the Baptist had sharply repromiselying his brother's wife.

[&]quot;That the first christians had ever accounted the laws of Leviticus had the treatment of the and Hesychius, had severely condemned the marriage of a man with his and affirmed, that this prohibition was not particular to the Jews, but gracked. That the council of Nevæsarea excommunicated every man wife's sister, and the woman that should marry two brothers; and the worked by the council held under Gregory II. That in all the council staken notice of the degrees of affinity, within which it is unlawful to consulted by Augustine, the monk, whom he sent into England, whether for a man to marry his brother's widow, answered, that this sort of many hidden; and if any persons who were lately converted, had contracted any their conversion, they ought to be advised not to associate with their wind there never was a more favourable occasion to dispense with such marriage if the church had had power."

this sentence of the pope, given in Rome on the 23rd ch. was of little consequence to the affairs of Henry: a bill, abolishing the power of the popes within the and been brought into the English house of commons beginning of that month, was transmitted to the lords later, was passed by them on the 20th, and received al assent, on the 30th of March. To this act, which the kingdom from the communion of Rome, was clause, "that all such canons and ordinances as had ready made, and were not repugnant to the statutes toms of the realm, or the prerogatives of the crown, he used and enforced, till it should be otherwise ded according to the tenor and effect of the said act." nry never exercised the power of re-modifying the stical laws, the spiritual courts have existed to the time. All appeals to Rome were forbidden, but might appeal from the court of the archbishop to the chancery, who could appoint commissioners, which ted the court of delegates. The clergy having acged the king's supremacy, it was enacted that all licenses, and dispensations, usually obtained from hould forthwith be sought of the archbishop of Cantesand that every kind of payment made to the apostolie should cease.

the New Testament Jesus Christ approved of the exception in Deuter many, the Sadduces, who had proposed that law to him.

in John the Baptist reproved Herod for marrying his brother's wife, either Borother was yet living, or because, if he was dead, he had left children.

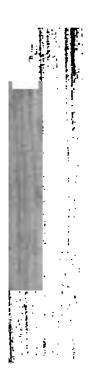
ne fathers always looked upon the law of Deuteronomy as an exception to theors; that in the ancient apostolic canons, he that married two kisters, each new, was only put out of the clergy; and in the council of Elvira, only tires as one was imposed upon them; that the ecclesiastical and civil laws, which marriages, forbid also marriages within the degrees of consanguality; that certainly any prohibition of such marriages by the law of nature; that has condemned these marriages, did not deprive themselves of the power of a some cases, though they did seldom do it; and that there are examples as made within the degrees forbidden in Leviticus, which have been always as lawful marriages."

mays Dr. Lingard, at the conclusion of the above note, vol. vi. p. 423, " two is evident, lat, that the law in Leviticus was not in its own nature so binds to admit of dispensation; because such dispensation is allowed in Deutense." That Moses published both the law and the exception to it for the use of Whether both or either were to be extended to other nations, is a question of scripture is silent."

but I should blame myself, because I know that I show against my conscience. And truly such reasoning would us of all perplexity. Whenever doctors disagree, we have to obtain the king's commandment for either side of the tion, and we must be right." Abbot of Westminder you ought to think your conscience erroneous when against you the whole council of the nation."

In order to dispel the prejudices hitherto enterior the supremacy of a lay prince, Henry with a mand that the word "pope" should be erasimilated used in the public worship; and that it is preachers should inculcate the new doctring wind ignorant that the authority maintained by the parts usurpation, which had been allowed only through ness or timidity former kings. Cranmer, us is in nity, set an example to his brethren, and zealously in the pulpit that the pontiff was the antichrist of lypse-an assertion which, a modern historian observafilled the catholic with horror, but at the present only contempt and ridicule. Though conformity to statutes was pretty generally observed, there still some whom no arguments could subdue; among were several members of religious houses. Of these lar of the three charter-houses in London waited upon [15] to explain the objections they felt towards the recogthe king's supremacy; but he maintained that such obje by "depriving the sovereign of the dignity, style, and of his royal estate," amounted to the crime of high He sent them from his house to the Tower, and in a let they, with Reynolds, a monk, and a secular clergy suffered the severity of the law at Tyburn; they we pended, cut down alive, embowelled, and dismembered next who underwent the sentence of the law was bishop whom Paul III. (Clement had been six months der named to the purple, which, when Henry heard, claimed, " Paul may send him the hat; I will take

t was intended by Elizabeth Barron, or or are true treature unto the king's nighteen. Er Tanna- hore. the exercise of his office of manuschen name remen I in matters which he could not recursis with its con-, had obtained permission it reside and live it is it Chelsea, where he stem me time it show and mave: sly avoiding all interference with politics. He was from his retirement to read to the attractor of miof treason, as one in the line constituent, and in te gave a satisfactor engularment. But muoning that hority of these great men that weather with the latter posed the circuits, they were until summaries, where acil at Lambett, and reputed it take the new out, c ion. This are table that in how on some state e with the congressions required by the uses, to beand that the marines of East with Laterian ma been unlawful, sich is in effect. Ause von villig u o the succession induct in some restriction management ut, for reasons which he tonement processes mentaled suppress. Fisher's answer was the same a secondwe sent to the Times. Must have set the many high ing account of his examination. It was numerical a L unless he gave the masons for the miner. The me ould be attributed to commany. More- in a sec ry, but the lear of giving offence. Le ue lare to arrant from the ang that he will have to offered the aplain my reasons. Commete "The ang . were a not save you from the penames ensured of the the More-" In that rase I will true to the tagette : : but yet it thinkers me, that if I manus the are i.e. without peril, then to leave them undertaken a to the ." Cranmer—" You say that you to the with at It taking the cath: It is then entered that you ced that it is blameable to take it but were that it is your ducy to occur the Aute. re to take it, you prefer that which is most is certain." More-" I do not sizure m. th, because I know not their research a



against you the whole council of the nation ahould, if I had not for me a still greater concouncil of Christendom."

In order to dispel the prejudices hitherto est the supremacy of a lay prince, Henry iss mand that the word "pope" should be erased: med in the public worship; and that a preachers should inculcate the new doctrine, ignorant that the authority maintained by th usurpation, which had been allowed only throu ness or timidity former kings. Cranmer, nity, set an example to his brethren, and zealc in the pulpit that the pontiff was the antichris lypse—an assertion which, a modern historial filled the catholic with horror, but at the preonly contempt and ridicule. Though conform statutes was pretty generally observed, there some whom no arguments could subdue; a were several members of religious houses. Of of the three charter-houses in London waited to explain the objections they felt towards th the king's supremacy; but he maintained that by "depriving the sovereign of the dignity, s

head to wear it on." So far did he carry his nis former tutor, that he ordered that the dead tripped and exposed to the gaze of the popuomas More was conducted on foot from the ninster-hall to take his trial, his emaciated steps excited a general feeling of horror and order to distract and overwhelm his memory, against him multiplied the charges without is exaggerated statement sir Thomas replied, le defence, in which his innocence was appasought only to do justice, but his accusers ned, and the jury pronounced him guilty, the copy of the indictment against him. i constancy and cheerfulness. When told the ed him by commuting his punishment to ded," he replied, "preserve all my friends from He declared he died a faithful subject to the catholic before God. His head was fixed on

nad followed the cautious policy of Clement; sher and More, whose names had long been virtue and their learning, had fallen martyrs chment to the papal supremacy, their blood tiff to punish their persecutor. Rome was the violence of Paul's counsellors extorted against Henry, which proved an extraordiof the papal authority, as it contained every indictive clause that was ever devised by the his predecessors. When the pontiff, howmore coolly the existing state of Europe, he blishing it, and silently deposited the weapon ry, there to remain inactive, until it could be a danger and a more probable prospect of

try had succeeded in establishing himself as ch by act of parliament, he found it very difther law or precedent to guide him, to define which this supremacy was to be exercised.



sion of all the monastic establishments which did not at two hundred pounds yearly value. The abbots and print the more wealthy institutions were lords of parliament; were therefore enabled to justify themselves and this munities. The parliament, which had now contain years, completed its career with the suppression of the monasteries, and was then dissolved.

As the statute which vested these establishments crown left the king the power of founding them as than a hundred, by paying the price of the founded by the king's letters patent. Of the suppressed, the superior received a pensional under twenty-four years of age were absolved a mand sent out at large; while the others were than among the larger monasteries, and the rest was considered. Cranmer and Cromwell, to find employment fully bacities.

While these matters were transacting under the of government, the attention of the multitude cupied by other important events. The fate of the queen, Catherine, maintained the greatest interest public mind; the fortitude with which she bore her in not stooping to any concession that could injure the of her daughter, whom she cherished a hope would or be called to the throne, prevented her from accept honourable asylum in Spain or Flanders; and the me with which she submitted, without a murmur, to pleasure, had been a constant theme of universal pross the angry messages she sometimes received from the and the imprisonment of her friends, and the act of such which was passed to defeat her rightful claim, all co to enfeeble her constitution, and increase her state of suffering. Perceiving that her health declined, she w her request to see her daughter, from whom she had bee rated since the time of her divorce. When first the was taken from her, Catherine wrote her the following " I beseech you agree to God's pleasure with a mem and be you sure, that without fail he will not suffer . BURNET.

you beware to offend him Answer the king's with a few words, obeying the king, your father, in save only that you will not offend God and lose And now you shall begin, and by likelihood low. I set not a rush by it; for when they have ittermost they can, then I am sure of the amend-pray you recommend me unto my good lady of and pray her to have a good heart, for we never the kingdom of heaven but by troubles."

ieen's request was refused by Henry. From her Catherine dictated a short letter to "her most dear and husband," in which she conjured him to think ration; forgave him all the wrongs which he had recommended the princess Mary to his paternal ; and requested that her three maids might be prosuitable marriages, and that her other servants might year's wages. As Henry perused the letter he shed d desired the ambassador to bear to her a kind and message; but she died before his arrival. She was th great pomp, in the abbey church of Peterborough: ng, from respect to her memory, ordered his seruld wear mourning on that day. But Anne Boleyn erself in robes of yellow silk, and openly testified eclaring, that now she was indeed a queen, for that 10 longer a rival. She chanced, however, in the ier exaltation, to spy Jane Seymour sitting upon the e: the sight enraged her jealousy; in a few days eized with premature labour, and was delivered of ale child. The circumstance excited Henry's anger, ch Anne observed, that he had no one to blame but nat her miscarriage had been owing to his fondness

eymour, one of Anne's maids of honour, was the of a knight, of Wiltshire, and to superior elegance united a gentle and pleasing disposition.

neral habits of levity displayed in the character of the ueen had often caused reports which were injurious nour; she was frequently the subject of conve

tion among the courtiers, and some indiscretions had last been whispered to the king. It happened that at a match, on the first of May, the queen dropped her hand chief from the balcony, and it fell at the feet of the combon her brother, lord Rochford, and her favourite, sir lies Norris: the latter took it up, and on so doing, wiped his with it. The king, who saw the act, quitted the com displeasure, followed by the queen. The next -Rochford and Norris were sent to the Tower; met queen, by order of Henry, was proceeding by me in Greenwich towards Westminster, she was melitarial Norfolk, the chancellor, and Cromwell, who with the accused of infidelity to the king. They convented Tower, whither she was followed by the genterial privy chamber, Brereton, Weston, and Smeaton Imas moment that the incident occurred, Anne had forest fate; and her affliction sometimes produced abenintellect. On perceiving that the apartment given wall her prison, was the same in which she had passed by preceding her coronation, she said, it was too good and falling on her knees, exclaimed, " Jesus, have " me;" then burst into a flood of tears, which was see by a fit of laughter. To Kyngston, the lieutenant Tower, she protested, "I am as clear from the company man, as for sin, as I am clear from you: I am told shall be accused by three men, and I can say no more nay, though you should open my body." She soon after exclaimed, in great anguish, " O! Norris, hast thou me? Thou art in the Tower with me; and thou and li die together. And thou Mark (Smeaton), thou art hen Mr. Kyngston, (turning to the lieutenant,) I shall die will justice."

At that period, it has been truly observed, various were used to draw matter of proof from the mouth accused; and whatever passed within the walls of the I was carefully reported to the council. Lingard quote following interesting extracts from the letters of the lieute To Mrs. Cosin, who asked the queen, why Norris had a

Imoner, that he could swear for her that she was a good an, Anne replied, "Marry, I bade him do so; for I him why he did not go through with his marriage, and ade answer that he would tarry a time. Then, said I, ook for dead men's shoes; for if aught but good should to the king (Henry was afflicted with a dangerous ulcer thigh), you would look to have me. He denied it; told him that I could undo him if I would."

the five male prisoners, Smeaton alone pleaded guilty; Il of them were convicted and executed. The queen - went an examination at Greenwich; of which she afters complained, that her uncle, Norfolk, while she was ang, shook his head, and said "Tut, tut." But on her n she was cheerful, and said to Kyngston, " If any man peing determined to arraign the queen before a commis->f lords, the duke of Norfolk acted as high steward, and y-six peers as his assessors. To the bar of this tribunal happy captive was led by the constable and lieutenant Tower. The indictment contained a charge of her confederated to perpetrate divers abominable treasons. cused her of several infidelities to the king's bed; but cords of her trial and conviction have perished, and our ent is held in suspense between the contradictory stateof her friends and her enemies. The lords pronounced a ilty, on their honour, and condemned her to be burnt, **L**eaded, at the royal pleasure. : hbishop Cranmer being alarmed at a message brought mediately after the trial, which summoned him to the e, but forbade his entering the royal presence, addressed st ingenious epistle to the king. But he found that y meant nothing more than to intimidate him, in order to him more obsequiously submissive to his will; which that he who had examined into the king's second mars juridically, had pronounced it valid, and had confirmed his authority, as metropolitan and judge, was now exed to pronounce that marriage to have been always null

and void. Certain commissioners laid the proof queen's guilt before the archbishop. He acceded to posal with all the zeal of a proselyte; adopted, ashobjections with which he had been furnished validity of the marriage, and sent copies of the and the queen, " for the salvation of their soulseffect of law; and summoned each of them to court, to show cause why a sentence of divorce pronounced. The trial of this cause was acc ducted with all the mockery of pretended justices tions were read in court; Dr. Sampson, the kins admitted them; doctors Wotton and Barbone, wf the queen, did not refute them: both parties dem ment; and Cranmer, " having previously invok. of Christ, and having God alone before his eyes. definitely, that the marriage formerly contracted Henry and Anne Boleyn, was, and always has and void.

Anne spent the remaining two days of her e company of her confessor. She displayed a ch manner which was surprising in her situation; evening previous to her execution, falling on her requested lady Kyngston, who was sitting in the re in her name to the lady Mary, to kneel before I manner, and to beg of her to pardon an unfortun the many wrongs she had done her. A little b she was led to the green within the Tower. dressed the persons present: "Good Christian pe come hither to die according to the law; and b am adjudged to die; and therefore I will spe; against it. I am come hither to accuse no man, n any thing of that whereof I am accused, and cor die. But I pray God save the king, and send h reign over you, for a gentle and more merciful there never; and to me he was always a good, a merciful lord. And if any person will meddle of I require them to judge the best. And thus I tak



u all; and heartily desire you all to pray for me." At troke her head was severed from the body. Her remains buried in the chapel of the Tower.

e king had wept four months before at the death of erine; but, as if to shew his contempt for the memory me, he clothed himself in white on the day of her exe1, and was married to Jane Seymour the following ing.

th respect to the guilt or innocence of Anne Boleyn. ard very justly remarks, that the question soon became f religious feeling, rather than of historical disquisition; hough she had departed no farther than her husband the ancient doctrine, yet, as her marriage with Henry the separation of England from the communion of e, the catholic writers were eager to condemn, the proit to exculpate, her memory. The king seems to have towards Anne with superfluous rigour, and to have ed her with insatiable hatred. The same author cons his notes on this part of the English history with obig that, " In the hypothesis that Anne was innocent, is something very singular in the conduct of her daughter 1 Elizabeth. Mary no sooner ascended the throne, than astened to repeal the acts derogatory to the honour r mother. Elizabeth sat on it almost five and forty , yet made no attempt to vindicate the memory of her er. The proceedings were not reviewed; the act of ider and divorce was not repealed. It seemed as if she orgotten, or wished the world to forget, that there ever ed such a woman as Anne Boleyn."

e princess Mary had spent the last two years in positive sion, at the royal manor of Hunsdon; and on lady Kingsisting her, to deliver the message with which she had intrusted, Mary availed herself of the opportunity to ss the following lines to Cromwell:—

Lingard's history no notice is taken of the letter which former historians have 3 to be written by Anne in the Tower, because, he remarks, there is no reason re it authentic, as it bears no resemblance to Anne's genuine letters, in language, ing, or writing, or signature.

ton's being here." She wrote to her father. was corrected by Cromwell, and she copied but the king's anger remained unappeased, well's threats, (who called her "an obstina woman, deserving the reward of malice in mischief, the most ungrateful, unnatural, person living; unfit to live in a Christian which he was so convinced, that he refuse Christ if it were not true,") she at las acknowledge Henry was the head of the c the marriage between her father and mother tuous and unlawful. Still she refused to ex by telling the names of her advisers. The parliament which, by a new act of successio crown on his issue by Jane Seymour; and children by her, or any future wife, empowere Litters patent under the great seal, or by his with his own hand, to limit the possession of whom he pleased. A suspicion arose from this being the king's intention to make his illegi whom he still continued to be much attached Fitzroy's death soon after greatly afflicted the arrant man followed her an incomment. ...

lissatisfied numbers spread from the borders of Scotland June and the Humber, and bound themselves by an stand by each other, " for the love which they bore ghty God, his faith, the holy church, and the mainthereof; to the preservation of the king's person and e; to the purifying of the nobility; and to expulse all plood, and evil councillors from his grace and privy not for any private profit, nor to do displeasure to rate person, nor to slay or murder through envy, but restitution of the church, and the suppression of and their opinions." In October 1536, thirty thouthe insurgents were in arms under their nominal Robert Aske, (the names of the real commanders were own) who compelled the inhabitants to join them by 10ns, similar to the following, sent to the commons of ide, and mentioned by Speed: "We command your ery of you to be at the Stoke green beside Hawkside Saturday next by eleven of the clock, in your best s you will answer before the high judge at the great doom, and in the pain of pulling down your houses, losing of your goods, and your bodies to be at the s will." This enterprise was termed the "pilgrimage e," and ended in the insurgents consenting to an e. When their delegates waited on the king to lay emands before him, he returned to them a written composed by himself, in which "he marvels that norant churls should talk of theological subjects to no 'something had been noted to be learned: or complain of his laws, as if, after the experience of eight years, he did not know how to govern a king-· should oppose the suppression of monasteries, as if not better to relieve the head of the church in his r, than to support the sloth and wickedness of monks." promised to redress their grievances; but as he failed te that promise, we find the insurgehe following in in arms: however, the duk rembling a o defeat s army in the heart of the count bas IIs. easures. In their attempts to

Joyea une seusiaction of defeating the policy of the in preventing the mission of cardinal Pole. was the grandson of George, duke of Cla daughter Margaret; a polished nobleman, who his studies in the university of Padua, and a at Shene; until the king, having required his divorce from Catherine, and finding it opposite gave him his roval permission to leave England of Italy Reginald found a secure retreat from the then agitated England; but in the year 1533, wishes of his family, and the remonstrance (court, he vielded to the command of Paul III. 1 presence at the Vatican, and bestowed upon h of cardinal, with the additional appointment of the Alps. An opinion then prevailed that probably become reconciled to the apostolic st impression, Pole pursued the pope's instruction prevail with Charles and Francis to sheath against each other. As soon as Cromwell hear appointment, he told Latimer he would make through vexation " eat his own heart." O arrival in France, the English ambassador, i treaty between the two nations, required th should he siene on and he cans a missour

ed their tenants to join in the pilgrimage of grace; and there were in the house of lords twenty-eight abbots, two priors of Coventry, and of St. John of Jerusalem, and ared to oppose the bill which was to justify this ling. Each of the great houses was first visited by sioners appointed for that purpose; and then, by one and or other, was wrested from the possessors, and red to the crown.

ard has given the following account of the surrender of s as a fair specimen of the mode of proceeding in that -" All the members of the community, with the and servants, were successively examined in private: result of a protracted inquiry was, that though two of aks were committed to Lancaster castle, nothing could overed to criminate either the abbot or the brother-A second investigation was instituted, and the result ie same. 'In these circumstances,' says the earl of (president of the commissioners) in a letter to Henry. is still extant, ' devising with myself, yf one way not serve, how and by what means the said monks be ryd from the said abbey, and consequently, how the night be at your graceous pleasur, I determined to nim as of myself, whether he would be contented to er giff, and graunt, unto (you) your heirs and assiyans d monastery: which thing, so opened to the abbot we found him of a very facile and ready mynde to foly advice in that behalf.' A deed was accordingly him to sign, in which having acknowledged 'the misnd evil rule both unto God and the king of the brethren aid abbey,' he, in discharge of his conscience, gave rendered to Henry all the title and interest which he ed in the monastery of Furness, its lands and its reve-Officers took possession, in the name of the king; the sioners followed, with the abbot in their company, i few days the whole community ratified the deed of rior. During four years the commissioners proceeded use to house, compelling the inmates to submit to the easure; where persuasion failed, recourse was had to severity. The refractory monks and abbots were pussed with imprisonment. Some, like the Carthusians, confices Newgate, were left to perish through hunger, disease, at neglect. Bedyl, one of the visitors, thus writes to Count regarding their fate: 'My very good lord, after my hearty commendations—it shall please your lordship was stand, that the monks of the Charter-house here at Line committed to Newgate for their treacherous behings tinued against the king's grace, be almost disputed 2 hand of God, as it may appear to you by this is a see Wherefore, considering their behaviour, and the I am not sorry: but would that all such as locality highness, and his worldly honour, were in like 18 be departed, Greenwood, Davye, Salte, Pure 12 There be at the point of death, Scriven, Reading, Ich sick, Jonson, Horne. One is whole, Bird."

By the spring of the year 1540 all the monastices' ments had been torn from the possession of the release and a bill had passed the two houses of parliames vested all the property, thus obtained, in the case amount is the following:—

No.	Orders.	Revenue.		
100	-	£.	s.	đ.
	Benedictines	65,877	1.1	0
20	Cluniacs	4,972	9	2 <u>1</u>
9	.Carthusians	2,947	15	41
101	.Cestercians	18,691	12	6
173	.Austins	33,027	1	11
32.	.Premonstratensians	4,807	14	1
2 5	.Gilbertins	2,421	13	9
3	.Fonterraud Nuns	825	8	61
3	. Minoresses	548	10	6
1	. Bridgettines	1,731	8	9 3
2	.Bonhommes	859	5	111
	Knights Hospitalers	5,394	6	5 <u>1</u>
	Friars	809	11	8 <u>į</u>
	£	142,914	12	91

To remove as much as possible the odium attending proceedings, the immorality said to be practised in the

vas given as a motive. The monks amounted to thousands; in such a multitude there must have existed rals whose conduct was a disgrace to their profession. en this has been conceded on the one part, it ought to itted on the other, that many of the charges are exatements, to which the accused had no opportunity of g. And it has been remarked that, when archbishop er named the clergy for his cathedral, he selected -ebendaries, ten minor canons, nine scholars, and two rs from the monks of Christchurch, whose reputation Fered most in the opinion of the public. From his idence in Canterbury, their conduct must have been to him; and it is improbable that Cranmer should surtimself with men addicted to the disgraceful vices with hey were charged. To the end of his reign Henry ed to make the affairs of the church a principal object attention.

lence the murmurs of his people, he appropriated some the spoil from the suppressed monasteries in estabnew bishoprics, deancries, and colleges; but the creed church of England depended greatly on his caprice. ergy were divided into two opposite factions; the menold and the new learning. The former party followed, r leader, Gardiner, bishop of Winchester; while the acknowledged at their head Cranmer, the archbishop. I were equally ready to suppress, or even to abjure, eal sentiments, at the command of their imperious. The bishops on each side acted with equal caution, enry's belief wavered between both.

king now thought seriously of forming an union with ly of German reformers who had so many years ago defiance the authority of Rome, and with this intent n embassy to the princes assembled at Smalcald, with tions to represent the general advantage it might be to one common confederacy. But the Germans required e should subscribe to their confession of faith; and ner, with whom the king consulted on the matter, I, that should be put his need to the confession of the

German divines, "it would be rather a change of a bar dependence, than a riddance thereof."

Henry, with the aid of his theologians, compiled them of the Christian doctrine, which were presented to the or ration by Cromwell in 1537. From these the ling of that the convocation should "set forth a plain and and position of doctrine," which was done in a wis " The godly and pious Institution of a Christin half was pronounced by the bishops and doctors of and civil law, as according, "in all things, with any meaning of scripture." It explains the call sacraments, divided into three of a higher than lower order, the ten commandments, the Publish Ave Maria, justification and purgatory. Balling remarkable for the earnestness with which it tion to all persons out of the pale of the Catholist denies the supremacy of the pontiff, and inculaobedience to the king.

Two years later, a number of holidays was ab superfluous with regard to religion, and injurial industry of the people: and as a prelude to the dess the shrines, the clergy were ordered to tell their comthat images were permitted only as books to the un that to use them in any other light was idolatry; and king intended to remove whatever might be the " out so great an offence to God, and so great a danger souls of his loving subjects." With the solemnity of gious ceremony the relics were burnt, and the me images were broken into fragments or burnt. Dr. relates the following occurrence as having happened period: "It had been suggested that, as long as the of St. Thomas of Canterbury should remain in the men would be stimulated, by his example, to be ecclesiastical authority of their sovereign. ney was therefore instructed to exhibit an information him ; Thomas Becket, some time archbishop ormally cited to appear in court, and terbi The interval of thirty days allowed to t

.w was suffered to elapse: still the saint neglected to tomb in which he had reposed for two centuries alf; and judgment would have been given against default, had not the king of his special grace L him a council. The court sat at Westminster; the -general and the advocate of the accused were and sentence was finally pronounced, that Thomas. me archbishop of Canterbury, had been guilty of contumacy, and treason; that his bones should be burnt, to admonish the living of their duty by the ent of the dead; and that the offerings which had Le at his shrine, the personal property of the reputed >uld be forfeited to the crown. A commission was gely issued; the sentence was executed in due form; gold, silver, and jewels, the spoils obtained by the on of the shrine, were conveyed in two ponderous the royal treasury. The people were soon afterinformed by royal proclamation, that Thomas Becket saint, but rather a rebel and a traitor; and it was to erase his name out of all books, under pain of his 's indignation, and imprisonment at his grace's plea-Vol. vi. p. 359.

party of the Lollards had by this time been nearly exted; but the progress of Lutheranism created very alarm in the minds of the English reformists. The an translation of the Bible was printed beyond sea, and vorks were published which condemned the creed of ablished church, ridiculed its ceremonies, and satirized isters. Henry thought himself bound to protect with ord the religion he had defended with his pen, and inovators suffered for their want of belief in the new Among these the trial of Lambert, alias Nicholson, yman in priest's orders and a schoolmaster, excited the t interest. He was passionately fond of controversy, ew up a paper containing eight reasons against the bethe real presence, which he presented to Dr. Taylor; wing been tried in the ecclesiastical court, appealed hat to Henry, as head of the church; and the king of his former belief, the king made a long first article in the written document, and Cranmer, Gardiner, Tunstal, Stokesley, Sa others. They having gone through all the asked, "What sayest thou now, after the inst learned men? Art thou satisfied? Wilt the The prisoner replied, "that he threw himself his sovereign." "Then," said the king, "the I will not be the patron of heretics." Jud nounced by Cromwell, and Lambert met he titude.

Meanwhile the pope was perplexed how to towards Henry; and his advisers following o embarrassed him still more. At length he mediator, in procuring a truce of ten years he peror and the king of France, whose long con themselves and their allies. The two soverei pope, that if he would publish a certain be refuse to hold alliance with a prince who had self from the catholic church, and would so commercial intercourse between their subject lish merchants.

>nounced the judgment of treason against him; and, induce the foreign princes, whom he solicited, to up, he wounded his feelings by ordering the arrest other, the countess of Salisbury; but she conducted ith such firmness and consciousness of innoceuce, as Iy to disconcert her accusers. Cromwell then cone judges as to the legalit of a person who was actreason being attainted without a previous trial or m; and being told it could only be done by act of at, an act was obtained, which included the venerable who was now more than seventy years of age, the Lirect line of the Plantagenets, and the nearest in Henry. When, after two years imprisonment in the ne countess was ordered to be executed, and told to - head upon the block, "No," she replied, "my er committed treason: if you will have it, you must as you can." She was held forcibly down, and exduring her execution, "Blessed are they who suffer ion for righteousness' sake."

now felt some unpleasant apprehensions respecting ral understanding between the pontiff and the catholic and being determined to convince the world that he Edvocate of the ancient doctrines, six questions were as matter of debate before the parliament: these the eucharist, communion under one kind, private the celibacy of the priesthood, auricular confession, s of chastity. On the second day the king joined in te; and Cranmer and his colleagues, who had hitherto the opposition, (except the bishop of Salisbury) yielded nions to the reasoning of the royal theologian. A bill sed the two houses, and received the royal assent, cited the articles separately: 1st. That in the eus really present the natural body of Christ, under is, and without the substance, of bread and wine. : communion under both kinds is not necessary ad 3d. That priests may not marry by the law of God: at vows of chastity are to be observed. 5th. T masses ought to be retained. 6th. That the

and bore him several children. Cranmer ender the aid of his friend Melanethon, to reason the k prohibitory clause, but finding that his obstine be overcome, he sent his children and their m many, and the king forgave his opposition.

Cromwell, by becoming an early convert to thad retained the royal favour; yet, though he to the king's pleasure, the statute of those ar tained contrary to his wish; he saw his friends Shaxton, disgraced and dispirited, his enemies ing the king's favour, and he turned his thoughts princes in Germany with whom he had long friendly but secret correspondence.

Henry's third queen, Jane Seymour, had died fortnight after giving birth to a prince, who Hampton Court on the 12th of August, and name of Edward. A month from this event the the hand of Marie, the duchess dowager of Louhe was greatly disappointed that she preferred a ful lover in James, king of Scotland. Beside acquirements this lady was said to possess, the person was, according to the report of a faithfucisely that which suited his majesty's taste. He rejection of him by refusing to allow her to travel

bish love. as he expressed it; but at the sight of her coarse zes, ill proportioned figure, and ungraceful manner, Henry back. He sought by consultations with his council to me reasonable excuse for avoiding the marriage; but, of making the German princes his enemies, he suffered real to solicit him to submit to the ceremony: having Scalaimed, in a peevish tone, " Is there then no other but that I must needs against my will put my neck moose?" After marriage, Henry's aversion increased; arts and accomplishments that were overcome his antipathy. atly did this marriage operate against Cromwell, that day of Anne's arrival in England, the courtiers looked wnfall of the favourite, and were surprised to see the occupy his usual seat at the opening of the ensuing It was, he said, with sorrow and displeasure, sovereign beheld the religious dissensions of his subm which had sprung two factions, who branded each h the opprobrious names of papists and heretics; abused the king's goodness, and the aid of parliarequired to enact penalties against those who should mashly and erroneously the holy scripture. was receiving additional marks of the royal favour, scertained that Dr. Barnes, who was a dependant on ster, had been employed in secret missions to Gerand that he had been the real agent in the affair of the arriage. Cromwell was arrested on the charge of treason, and being refused a public trial, he fell a victim iniquitous mode of proceeding suggested by himself in se of the late countess of Salisbury, a bill of attainder, ich, in his own case, passed through both houses without was soon This judgment on Cromwell was soon **Moved** by the divorce of the king from Anne his queen. this event was brought about by a convocation, which apminted commissioners to make inquiry; they listened to the hes of the king, and confirmed them by their decision, which subjected every man to the penalties of treason who sould presume to say the marriage was lawful and validA yearly income of three thousand pounds, with the palace of Richmond, was settled upon the queen, and she left her myal consort without much apparent regret.

TAD.

The death of Cromwell, which occurred on the sixth dy after his attainder, does not seem to have excited the suppathy of any class among the king's subjects: the historian, in recording his execution, says, it was witnessed without a tear. But other executions followed, of a more singular nature: Powel, Abel, and Featherstone suffered as traitors, for denying the king's supremacy; and Barnes, Garret, and Jerome were burnt as heretics, for denying the papal creed. The offenders, catholic and protestant, coupled on the same hurdle, were drawn from the Tower to Smithfield, the place of execution.

In a few days after these events, the council solicited the king to select another wife, in the hope that God would bless him with more numerous issue. He complied with their request, and married Catharine, daughter to the late lord Edmund Howard, and niece to the duke of Norfal Her education had been committed to the care of the duchess; and it is stated that " her notable appearance of honour, cleanness, and maidenly behaviour," had won the king's heart on seeing her at a dinner given by the bishop of Winchester. Her figure was small, and her face very beautiful, and the king was affectionately attached to her: but her elevation was a subject of jealousy to the reformers, who adopted every means to weaken the power of the reigning party, and soon devised her downfall. Cranmer discovered, through the testimony of a female servant, that Catharine, when a single woman, had vielded to the solicitations of Dereham; and further inquiry brought an accusation against her, which said. that a man of the name of Culpepper had been in the room with her and lady Rochford, for three hours during the night. On these presumptions of guilt, Dereham and Culpepper were executed. The king showed an unwillingness to condema his queen, and ordered a deputation to wait on her in the Tower, and exhort her to disclose the fact, and speak without apprehension: to tell her " the king was merciful, and the

Laws were just; if she could prove her innocence, her husband would rejoice; if not, the truth at least would be acceptable to him." Her answer was withheld until after a bill of attainder had passed. In that she confessed and deplored the disorders of her former life; but asserted, on her hope of salvation, and called God and his angels to witness the truth of her assertion, that "she had never been unfaithful to the bed of her husband and lord."

Lingard observes, vol. vi. page 410, "That the story of the queen and lady Rochford is misrepresented, both by Smollet and Hume. It is not true that Dereham and Mannock accused lady Rochford of being Catharine's confidant in their amour with her; neither did Culpepper spend the night with the queen alone; nor is there any proof that they behaved improperly at their execution."

- tharine, a clause was entered in the bill of attainder, compelling every woman about to be married to king Henry, or any of his successors, if not a maid, to disclose her disgrace to him, under the penalty of treason.
- The king employed the interval between the death of his queen, Catharine, and his marriage with his sixth wife, in the exercise of his duties, as head of the church. He revoked the permission formerly granted to read the bible generally, and confined its perusal to the closets of persons of the rank of lords and gentlemen, and to ladies of noble birth, and housekeepers: but subjected those of the lower class, and the timinformed, who should presume to read it, to one month's imprisonment. For their spiritual food, the people were allowed to read "the king's book," which comprised, besides the code of doctrine collated in 1540, the definition of the new creed respecting transubstantiation, and the sufficiency of communion under one kind. This work was considered to be the only authorized standard of English orthodoxy during the remainder of this reign.

With regard to foreign affairs, we find that, from the year 1536, the whole of Wales was incorporated with the realm of

England, enjoyed the same rights and immunities, and the power to send members to parliament.

In Ireland, the rival jealousy of the families of For gerald and Butler, under their respective chiefs, the earls of Kildare and of Ormond, or Ossory, created repeated in turbances until the government passed from their hands to the earl of Surrey, under whose jurisdiction Ireland enjoyed two years of tranquillity; but he being recalled by Heny to head the army in France, it again became the theatre of contending parties, and at length, through the rasimess of Kildare, was brought into a state of rebellion; and partaking of the spirit which directed the religious controvers in England, Fitzgerald proclaimed himself the champion of the ancient faith, in opposition to Brown, bishop of Dublia, who had lately been raised to that see as a reward for his ulherence to the politics of Cromwell. Henry enforced submission; and, in Ireland as well as England, was deduced head of the church. A parliament was formed, and from a lordship Ireland was raised to the rank of a kingdom. Commissioners were appointed to hear and determine cause; the peerage was asked and obtained; Ulliac de Burg was crested earl of Clanricard, Murrough O'Brian earl of Thomond and O'Neil earl of Tyrone. These swore fealty, were accompodated by their sovereign with houses in Dublin during the attendance in the parliament, and thus was established, on a firm basis, the English ascendancy in Ireland.

In Scotland, James V. inherited the political sentiments of his fathers, and, like them, endeavoured to protect himself against the power of England by alliances with the emperor Charles, and the king of France. By the good offices of the latter, in 1534, Henry and his nephew James were at terms of friendship; and, in the hope of making James a proselyte to the ecclesiastical supremacy of princes in their respective dominions, his uncle sent him a treatise upon the subject, but the present was disregarded. Satisfied with his own creed, he was nowise inclined to encourage theological disputations; and the pontiff, with a view to bind him more

y to the communion of the apostolic see, gave a cardicap to David Bethune, abbot of Arbroath, and lastly ishop of St. Andrew's. When Paul resolved to publish ill against Henry, James promised his assistance, with es and Francis, to convert or to punish the apostate But the latter, who was soon apprized of their intensent Ralph Sadler, a gentleman of the privy chamber. ambassador to Edinburgh. In vain did this agent our by solicitations to induce James to pay a visit to cle. Equally vain were his efforts to produce any in the religious opinions of the Scottish monarch, who, following year, passed several laws in support of the doctrines, and of the papal supremacy. The proceed-James were so vexatious in their consequences towards . that the English cabinet resolved on the necessity of an army to Scotland. At the commencement of ies, the Scottish forces gained advantages which comthe duke of Norfolk, who led the English army, to to Berwick; but when afterwards the Scots crossed the s, they were repulsed by a superior force, and lost more ight hundred prisoners, with their whole train of ar-. This so overpowered the spirit of James, that he retired solitude of Falkland, where a fever, attended with acute sh of mind, overcame the strength of his constitution, e expired, just one week after the birth of his daughter, afortunate Mary Stuart, in 1542. His death created a object for the ambition of Henry, in a proposal of marbetween his son Edward, and the infant princess Mary otland: the proposal was accompanied with other des, which were positively rejected. But, after some is spent in angry altercation, it was finally agreed, that should be concluded between the two kingdoms; that should marry Edward, and that when she had com-I her tenth year she should be sent into England; while blemen should be surrendered as hostages to Henry. the meantime, that party of the Scottish nobility which or years been attached to their French ally, continued to e from France the aid of ammunition and money; and James Hamilton, earl of Arran, presumptive heir throne of Scotland, and governor of the kingdom during queen's minority, was alarmed by the arrival of them Lennox, who claimed the regency in his own right, a ground that Arran was illegitimate. On this many, and promised, if Arran's son married many, and promised, if Arran's son married many Elizabeth, to make the father, "by force of our tile priority, king of the rest of Scotland beyond the father governor replied, that "Marry, all his many lay on this side the Firth, which he would be change for any living beyond the Firth."

Henry resolved upon war; and Lennox, when ately fond of Margaret Douglas, the daughter niece of Henry, joined the English king. The governed a parliament, in which the adherents of Experiment of the war continued more than two years. Lennox where the hand of Margaret Douglas, on the conditions should resign his castle of Dumbarton to Henry governor and garrison expelled him with ignominated livered it up to his rival, Arran. This, and other sions in the western counties of Scotland, so important the hostages he had received from thence to be put up to his prival, and the conditions have the hostages he had received from thence to be put up to his prival, and the sense had received from the the put up to his prival, and the prival of the existing relations between France and England at this period, such as disposed the two monarchs to the sense of the prival of the period, such as disposed the two monarchs to the period of the

at this period, such as disposed the two monarchs to the first fair opportunity to declare open hostility. The peror Charles, who had watched this growing of thought he could turn it to his advantage by his own ciliation with England; but the honour of his family required that the princess Mary, daughter of his niece trine, should be restored in blood as the legitimate children father. The pride of Henry refused to bend to an act would be an acknowledgment that he had wrongs mother; and to satisfy both parties, it was agreed to Mary to her place in the succession by an act of ment, without any mention of her legitimacy. This

the uncle and nephew formed a joint league to declare Sainst France. Had Henry persevered in the plan My agreed on, to march to Paris, there is little doubt incis would have been at the mercy of the allies; but, by an immediate prospect of conquest, Henry performing the siege of Boulogne, and, during his stay of under its walls, gave to the French monarch the through the agency of Guzman, a monk in the convent at Soissons, and a relative of his confessor. Secret proposal of peace, which ended amicably ect of a matrimonial union between the families of Francis. The war between England and France other year, when the two powers, tired of extreasures, without profit or glory, agreed upon s of peace, including Scotland in their treaty, so remaining six months of this reign England was e expense of foreign expeditions, but the im-State of its treasury astonished all Europe; for, wars discovered the secret that the king of anted money, he was supposed to have been a arch. In the twenty-sixth year of his reign, it was the receipts of the exchequer then exceeded the amount of all the taxes upon record which had sed by his predecessors. That sum was more than fore his death, by subsidies and loans, which never d; by forced benevolences, and the debasement of cy; and by the secularization of part of the clerical, whole of the monastic, possessions. the last twelve years the secret intrigues of Cran-

Gardiner had nearly balanced the power of the two parties in England; though the enemies of each had means untried to dissolve the king's confidence in both means untried to dissolve the king's conf

press command of his sovereign; and though be might an times offend the pride, still he preserved the esteem of Ha On this subject, the following passage from one of Our letters shews something of the king's character, 1 fashion of writing, his highness (God pardon his soll) a whetting : which was not at all the most pleasure with yet when I saw in my doings was no hurt, and am the the occasion thereof the matter was umended I wall coy as always to reverse my argument : nor water went well, did I ever trouble myself whether was wanton or not. And when such as were problem to me were afraid I had been in high disme it terms of the letters sounded so), yet I much thing at all; I esteemed him, as he was a warms whatsoever he said or wrote for the present, le with wards consider the matter as wisely as any made hurt nor inwardly disfavour him that had been better whereof I serve for a proof: for no man could be during his life. And when he gave me the bishood chester, he said he had often squared with me bas me never the worse; and for a token thereof he made bishopric I was reported unto him that I are and was stubborn; and he commended unto means gentle nature, as he called it, that wept at every of it and methought that my nature was as gentle as I was sorry when he was moved. But else I how the displeasure was not justly grounded in me, 11 cause to take thought."

Catharine Parr, Henry's sixth queen, was a zelocate for the new faith; as was her brother the new Essex, and her uncle, Lord Parr of Horton. When the was confined by a painful indisposition to his described and catharine encroached so much on his patients, if theological arguments, that the king felt himself high asperated, and gave orders for her arrest the next his being told of the design against her, she fell into a soion of fits, and during the intervals made the palm

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creams. As she was in a room adjoining that of in he was greatly annoyed by the noise, and sent his icia to her assistance. Finding that of no avail, he to ner assistance.

Carried in a chair to console her. In the course of that she waited upon him, and having adroitly turned the to the subject of religion, took occasion to exadmiration of his learning, and the implicit defershe always felt impelled to pay to his decisions. by St. Mary," he exclaimed, "I know you too are a doctor, Kate." She replied, that if she had presumed to differ from him, it had not been to er own opinions, but to amuse his grace, for she d, that, in the warmth of argumentation, he forget the pain that tormented him. "Is it said Henry, "then we are friends again." following morning, the chancellor came with a ke her into custody, he was remanded with a volley es; and from that day the queen was very cautious rb the theological sensibility of her husband. time the king spoke in the parliament house he heavily of the dissensions which pervaded every the realm. It was, he observed, partly the fault ergy; some of them were "so stiff" in their "old us," and others so busy in their " new sumpsimus," ead of preaching the word of God, they were em-In railing at each other; and partly the fault of the hose delight it was to censure the proceedings of shops, priests, and preachers. "If you know," he "that any preach perverse doctrine, come and declare me of our council, or to us, to whom is committed d the authority to reform and order such causes and viours; and be not judges yourselves of your own fan-Aical opinions and vain expositions: and although you be emitted to read holy scripture, and to have the word of hod in your mother-tongue, you must understand it is licensed a so to do, only to inform your conscience, and inform your didren and families, and not to dispute, and to make scripa railing and taunting stock against priests and preachers.

I am very sorry to know and hear how irreverently the precious jewel, the Word of God, is disputed, rhymed, sangand jingled in every alchouse and tavern, contrary to the trie meaning and doctrine of the same; and yet I am as much sorry that the readers of the same follow it in doing so fairs and coldly. For of this I am sure, that charity was never to faint among you, and virtuous and godly living was never less used, nor God himself among Christians never less served. Therefore, as I said before, be in charity with one another, like brother and brother, and love, dread, and serve God, to which I, as your supreme head and sovereign lord, exhort

and require you." seems of hall surrenge and the

During the latter months of Henry's reign, his mind was haunted with apprehensions respecting the safety of his son and heir, prince Edward. The king had no near relation of the blood royal with whom to entrust the boy, who was only in his ninth year; and the Seymours, between whom and the house of Howard there existed an angry spirit of rivaly, held frequent consultations on the means to be adopted for the removal of the aged duke of Norfolk, his son the earl of Surrey, and bishop Gardiner, as the persons whose power and talents they had the greatest cause to fear. At a time when the king was tormented with extreme pain, and his mind anxious respecting the future prospects of his son, his royal ear was poisoned with insinuations of the treachery and falsehood of the Howards; and his jealousy was alarmed by a suggestion that Surrey had declined the hand of the daughter of Hertford, because his ambition aspired to that of the princess Mary. The council had orders to inquire into the matter; every malicious tale furnished by the enemies of the duke was reported to the sick monarch, until he persuad himself that a confederacy was actually formed to place be reins of government in the hands of the Howards, during his illness, and to give them the custody of the young prince in the case of his death. Both the duke and his son were, on these surmises, arrested without the circumstance being expected by either, and both were conveyed to the Tower. Soon after their committal, the king revised his will, and

maned from the names of his executors the duke of Norfolk. a prisoner under the charge of treason; Gardiner, betuse of his "wilfulness;" and Thurlby, bishop of Westminster. scause he was " schooled by Gardiner." The king, having armed many other alterations, which left Edward and the povernment of the kingdom under the control of the Sevnours, until the prince should attain the age of eighteen. e ordered a fair copy to be written*. As the king's disolution approached, the anxiety of the Seymours to bring he Howards to trial increased; and as soon as the Christmas solidays were over, the earl of Surrey was arraigned at Guildall on a charge of having quartered on his shield the arms of Idward the Confessor. He shewed that he had borne these arms for years without giving offence; and that they had neen assigned to him by a decision of the heralds. The sourt, however, pronounced it sufficient evidence that he spired to the attainment of the throne, and doomed this relient and accomplished nobleman to perish on the scaffold. Vith respect to the duke of Norfolk, it was difficult to find ven a pretended ground of accusation; and in this dilemma scourse was had to a bill of attainder, which passed the ouse: but the king growing worse, the duke's enemies were parful that, in waiting till the close of the session, the usual me for obtaining the royal assent, their victim might escape; ad therefore, the chancellor stated to the lords that his wiesty, who was desirous to fill up the offices held by the the of Norfolk, had appointed certain lords to signify his ment to the bill. This done in due form, and at the moment nat Henry was lying in the agonies of death, an order was ispatched to the lieutenant of the Tower, to execute his isoner the next morning. Providence directed otherwise; fore the sun rose on that morning, Henry VIII. had ceased

the end of the seventeenth century it was placed in the chapter house, at Wester, and consists of several sheets of coarse soft paper, tacked together with a aid of green and white ribband, the writing of a mean and slovenly character. The is signed at the head of the first, and at the end of the last page, with the king's nd writing, as was pretended; but the character was fairer than ever he could make, d the hand stiff. On comparing the hand on the will with his stamp and his usual ndwriting, it agreed with neither."

earth, above all his predecessors; had given him a per knowledge of the scriptures, with which he had promoted Roman Goliath; a perfect knowledge of the art of we which he had gained the most brilliant victories, at the which he had gained the most brilliant victories, at the of government, by which he had for thirty years would his own realm the blessings of peace, while we nations of Europe suffered the calamities of war. It is at the words "most sacred majesty" were repeated emphatic expression was pronounced, the lord manner whole assembly, in token of respect and assembly foundly to the demi-god on the throne.

These several combinations gave to Hemedaspotic sway over the lives, the fortunes, and the self iato a belief that the paramount duty of even in his kingdom was, to submit and obey; but the spirit of resistance to arbitrary power gradually infinite the pretensions of the crown were opposed by the the people; and the result of a long and arduous was that constitution, which, for more than a central excited the envy and the admiration of Europe."

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CHAPTER XXIX.

EDWARD VI.

On the same day that the new king was proclaimed, chancellor read to the two houses of parliament that put the late king's will in which the sixteen individuals, named his executors, were, by that instrument, to constitute privy council, and exercise the authority of the crown, the young king, now only ten years old, should have selected his eighteenth year. All former appointments

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native genius and talents; and by his generosity to who were distinguished for learning. During the Wolsey, Henry allowed that prelate to maintain a conis passions, which, after the death of that minister, manageable. He grew rapacious, prodigal, obstinate. ious; suspicious wherever he placed confidence. certain in his friendships as he was merciless in his ts. Inflated with praise from interested admirers. spised every man's judgment but his own, and in policy and religion acted as if he were, indeed, in-In supporting the spiritual supremacy, the national me debased, the people of England shrank into a laves, not so much from the despotism of the king e obsequious submission of the two houses of pardded to the assumption of the ecclesiastical power, ervility of the two religious parties which divided The spiritual peers were no more than the delehe king, exercising a precarious authority, deterit his pleasure; the great families of the preceding ho had often resisted a sovereign's attempt to enpon their rights, had, by successive limitations, xtinct,-their vast possessions had been frittered ong the favourites and dependents of the court (ommons had not yet acquired sufficient importance any effectual barrier to the power of the crown. parliament opened, or closed, it presented a scene thy of an oriental divan, as the constant theme of ellor and the speaker's addresses was the character g; and the orators, in their efforts to surpass each the king's vanity with the most hyperbolical praise. ell * said, " he was unable, he believed all men were describe the unutterable qualities of the royal e sublime virtues of the royal heart:" Rich told "in wisdom he was equal to Solomon, in strength ge to Sampson, in beauty and address to Absalom: ley declared, that "God had anointed him with the dom above his fellows, above the other kings of '

[#] LINGARD, vol. vi. p. 480,

earth, above all his predecessors; had given him a peter knowledge of the scriptures, with which he had prostrated in Roman Golinth; a perfect knowledge of the art of war, in which he had gained the most brilliant victories, at the smittime, in remote places; and a perfect knowledge of the art of government, by which he had for thirty years secured to his own realm the blessings of peace, while all the other nations of Europe suffered the calamities of war." As often as the words "most sacred majesty" were repeated, or any emphatic expression was pronounced, the lords rose, and the whole assembly, in token of respect and assent, bowed profoundly to the demi-god on the throne.

These several combinations gave to Henry the most despotic sway over the lives, the fortunes, and the liberies of his subjects; so that he lived as if he had persuaded himself into a belief that the paramount duty of every individual in his kingdom was, to submit and obey; but, as the same historian justly observes, "Happily, the forms of a free government were still suffered to exist: into these form a spirit of resistance to arbitrary power gradually infused itself; the pretensions of the crown were opposed by the claims of the people; and the result of a long and arduous strugge was that constitution, which, for more than a century, has excited the envy and the admiration of Europe."

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EDWARD VI.

On the same day that the new king was proclaimed, the chancellor read to the two houses of parliament that part of the late king's will in which the sixteen individuals, named as his executors, were, by that instrument, to constitute the privy council, and exercise the authority of the crown, until the young king, now only ten years old, should have completed his eighteenth year. All former appointments to

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ls of regency had been exercised by the house of but Henry VIII., by a special statute, obtained in his had secured to himself the power of providing for the istration of government during his successor's minority. ers patent, or by his last will, signed with his own . As the persons named in this instrument were all, as e, new men, and persons who had enjoyed, almost exely, the privilege of access to the king's chamber during it illness, the nomination excited surprise and dissatisthroughout the nation: nor did the members of this auncil continue unanimous longer than to bind themby oath to the sacred observance of the conditions imupon them by this instrument. The first discussion red their union. The ambition of Hertford, uncle to the king, led him to aspire to the office of protector of the and guardian of the king's person: a measure which rongly opposed by the chancellor, as being contrary, in bearings, to the intention of the testator, who had ineach of the executors with equal powers. A strong zy had been previously secured, and Wriothesley withis opposition, on an understanding that Hertford would any instance, act without the concurrence of his col-3*. By a clause in the body of the will Henry had hem a charge to ratify every gift, and perform every e, that he had made before his death. With a scrupuxactness the council examined Paget, Herbert, and who had been more constantly about the royal peran the others, and from their depositions it was inthat the king intended creating Hertford duke of set, and giving to the others of the council certain and dignities: and to each an addition of yearly income, from the revenues of the dissolved monasteries, or still ing to existing bishoprics. These matters being among themselves, the council issued orders for the

Hertford had previously intrigued to procure the office of Protector is evident following passage of a letter afterwards written to him by Paget:—"Remember promised me in the gallery at Westminster, before the breath was out of the king that dead is; remember what you promised me immediately after, dead is me about the place which you now occupy,"—July 7, 1549.

interment of the late king *, and then prepared for the autien of Edward.

The ceremony of the coronation was much alternant, it was said, of the delicate state of the kind but men were surprised that, instead of observing custom of the archbishop, first, receiving the kind pursarve the liberties of the realm, and then, people if they were willing to accept and obey his in the line was now reversed, by allowing the said the metropolitan, "I here present king binations and undoubted inheritor, by the laws of God almost royal dignity and crown imperial of this realm, when crution, insunction, and coronation is appointed by this time, and give your good wills and assents to the consecration, insunction, and coronation, as by your root.

Instead of a sermon, Cranmer pronounced a short which he told the young monarch that i "the production which he had just made could not affect his right wood the sceptre of his dominions. That right he had derived any other bishop, could impose conditions on him any coronation, nor pretend to deprive him of his crown, only plea that he had broken his coronation-oath. Yet the solemn rites served to admonish him of his duties, which

The body lay in state in the chapel of Whitehall, which was bung for the convenience with thick chin. Eighty large black topers were kept constantly burning; treeful macraers, sat mund, within a rail; and every day masses and a dirge were part of the commencement of the service, Norroy king at arms called aloud; "I charily pray for the soil of the high and mighty prince our late sovereign but he Will." On the left of February the body was removed to Ston House, on the Windson, and the next day it was interred in the midst of the choir, near to the body lane Seymour. Cardiner, bishop of Winchester, preached the sermon and multiple funeral service. When he cast the mould into the grave, saying Pulvis pulvet, to cover, the lord great master, the lord chamberlain, the treasurer, comptroller, and themen ushers, broke their staves into three parts over their heads, and three in the same starts upon the coffin. The pealm "De profundis" was then said; and Garter has arms, alterned by the archibishop of Canterbury and the bishop of Durham, impediational the style of the new sovereign, Edward VI.

† Ltvgand, vol. vil. p. 9.

bishop of Rome be banished, and images be removed; bishop of Rome be banished, and images be removed; virtue and revenge vice; to justify the innocent and poor; to repress violence and execute justice. This, and he would become a second Josiah, would remain to the end of days."

ould remain to the end of days."

and undaunted spirit of Wriothesley, the new appton, did not suit the ambitious views of the owas glad to notice the chancellor's imprudence the great seal to a commission without consultagues, to deprive him of the chancellorship; was followed by a grant of letters patent, which somerset the whole authority of the crown: so ing Henry had been two months dead, the he had confided to the joint wisdom of sixteen entred in one individual, the Protector.

e an appearance of amity was kept up; at Paris vice was performed for the repose of the soul of; and at the death of Francis, which happened fler, a mass of requiem was sung in the church London; but Henry II., son and successor to who followed the advice of the duke of Guise; nal of Lorraine, refused to fulfill the alliance with lich had been planned by his father and the late e French monarch felt deeply interested in the lifant queen of Scotland, and would not assume on that should prevent his interference in her

king Henry VIII. had meditated to obtain the the young queen of Scotland, but, being foiled in the total by the policy of cardinal Bethune, he listened to seize the cardinal in his road through the county. This time Bethune escaped the snare of his enethe survivors of that party assassinated the cardicastle of St. Andrew, two years afterwards. Knox, sh reformer, with a number of his disciples, joined erers, and they obtained the protection of Henry.

Now in 1547 the Protector renewed treaties with murderers of Bethune, and they engaged to procure the riage of their infant sovereign with Edward of English and also promised to aid an English army that was pared to be sent into Scotland to take possession d' young queen. Arran, the governor of Scotland, laring ceived secret intelligence of Somerset's intention, solicited and obtained the aid of France. Meantime the Protector, with the earl of Warwick, marched with a numerous army into Scotland, and were victorious at the great battle of Pinhale cleugh. The valour of the English did not hoverer, true quish the national jealousy which the Scots lad long harboured towards them; in an assembly at Suing, www resolved to renew the alliance with their ancientally; to olio the hand of the young queen to the dauphin, and to propose that she should be educated in the French court. Somered tried by every art to change that determination in hand it England; a powerful army seconded his proposi; but he Scots, assisted by a large squadron of French and broad troops, forced the English to retreat from their books; by young queen and her household were conveyed safely from Dumbarton to Brest, whence the princess Mary 115 as ducted to St. Germain en Laye, and contracted to her lum husband, the dauphin of France.

While these things were passing abroad, religious may vation was making great progress at home: the very many who, during the life of the late monarch, had been most be sequious in obeying his will, were now the most desimally act contrary to their former principles. They had character the form of government, and next undertook to establish different religious creed; and their new opinions were fully transfused into the mind of the young king, who already the change the established creed was an enterprise which they saw would be attended with danger and difficulty, but which Cranmer resolved to evercome. He began by enforce the compliance of the bishops to the will of the council.

crown, it must have expired with the last king. I the council to restore him to his former jurisdiction. it by a commission from them till such commission e revoked by the sovereign. Visitors were appointed. mined the bishop, clergy, and many householders in cese; these they required on outh to obey the royal in--the power of preaching was confined to such of the n only as should obtain licences from the Protector tropolitan; and a book of homilies, compiled by Cranh the paraphrase of Erasmus on the New Testament, only books permitted to be read in the churches. Rethese books Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, mainlong and animated controversy, proving that they octrines which were irreconcileable with the creed ed by act of parliament; and accused Cranmer, who posed the book of homilies, of duplicity in reprobating ons which he had taught during the life of the late d in a letter to him said, "After your grace hath s continually lived in agreement of that doctrine. r late sovereign lord, now, so suddenly after his write to me that his highness was seduced, it is, I yu, a very strange speech." Cranmer, glad of any silence so dangerous an opponent as Gardiner, who d by the new party, and respected by the old for his and abilities, his spirit and influence, detained the close prisoner in the Fleet during the whole of the ession.

t session, whatever of church property had escaped ity of the late monarch, was seized by the council in of the sovereign. Most of the new acts which do not he rights and liberties of the people in eign were repealed. The royal assent was given to ermitting the marriage of the clergy, but with a reation attached to it of perpetual continency, as more spiritual character, and rendering them better able to their ministry, because they would be more free dly cares and embarrassments; and to another bill of communion under both kinds. The election of

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of Seymour, pronounced him to have led a sensual, ite, irreligious, life, and to have died suitably to that dangerously, irksomely, horribly *."

estilities did not cease between England and Scotland series of untoward events had exhausted the resources tracted all the attention of the English government to its aternal situation. Among many causes of discontent, that - depreciation of the currency in the late reign was one of ost grievous. The agriculturists had discovered that was gained by the growth of wool than of corn, whence was discouraged. Many portions of the wastes and ons, which in former times, particularly on the estates -monks and clergy, had been allotted for the common use labourers and the poor, were, by the present proprietors, zed; and thus the more indigent classes of individuals -deprived of the means of support. The discontented and their private sufferings with the innovations in reliand as the day approached on which the use of the old was to cease and the new one to begin, the common ≥ rose in various counties at the same time, and England nted a state of general insurrection. It was now that the were recalled from Scotland; martial law was pro-=d in every part of the kingdom, and in the course of months about four thousand men perished in the field, The hand of the executioner.

principal leader of the insurgents was Ket, who planted
 mdard on Moushold-hill, near Norwich, there erected for
 If a throne, and performed the functions of a legislator
 a spreading oak. He was afterwards executed on

The lieutenant to bid his servant speed the thing that he wot of. That servant sheed deep and confessed that his master had by some means made himself ink in many, had used for a pen the aiglet of a point which he plucked from his hose, written two letters to the lady Mary and lady Elizabeth, which he sewed sole of a velvet shoe. The shoe was opened, and the letters were found: their is to excite the jealousy of the king's sisters against the protector as their great. Hence the preacher concluded that God had clean forsaken him. "Whether," he be saved or no, I leave it to God; but surely he was a wicked man, and is well rid of him."—See LATIMER'S Fourth Sermon in the first editor tors, ashamed of the passage, have thought proper to omit it.—Lings.

51. Note.

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an opportunity for active exertion.

The earl of Warwick had been victories rebellion: he now openly opposed the measur and in the presence of the council, made severi him, upon which the lords required that he office of protector, and " be contented to be ing to justice and reason." The duke trie hostility of Warwick, by addressing to him : ter: in answer to which, the earl and his fi all vindictive motives, but insisted on an un mission: and Somerset was conducted to 1 reformists were alarmed for the fate of the n their apprehensions disappeared at the meeti when a circular letter to the clergy inform king's intention to continue the reformation: ing his subjects to deliver up all books contain of the former service, that they might be was followed by an act which obliged every fine who kept such a book in his house.

Meantime Somerset made a frank and unq ledgment of his guilt; and was compelled to abject submission, wherein he threw himself his sovereign, and expressed himself grateful

EDWARD VI. thilly obeyed ; and Cranmer proposed to purge the of the disaffected prelates, and replace them with men Modox principles. He began the experiment upon ber, Dishop of London, who was required to preach at wil's Cross, and to divide his sermon into three given Line last of which, "that the right and power of the king ender years was not less than it had been in his preor would be in himself at a more advanced age," Desitted; for which refractory conduct he was orbe tried. When the bishop appeared before his cold them he "had three things,—a few goods, a e, and a soul: the two first were at their disposal, Bonner pleaded the loss of and his defective memory; but maintained that he ma nis delective memory, error, by the eagerness error, by the eagerness he had declaimed against the rebels; and avowed he had decisioned organized the having explained hat his real error had been, the having explained the sacrament. and established doctrine, respecting the sacrament and established docume, response until the king's Bonner remained a prisoner until the king's had been intended that this example should serve had been intended that this examination, who had now been confined at the bishop Gardiner, who had now been confined that this examination, in the Tower. Gardiner underwent an examination, in the Tower. Gardner under were repugnant to his questions were put that were repugnant to a worse cell questions were put that were cell questions were put that was reconducted to a worse cell ce to answer, and he was reconducted to a worse cell ce to answer, and he was reconducted to a worse cell cell to a worse cell cell to answer, and he was reconducted to a worse cell cell to answer, and he was reconducted to a worse cell cell to answer, and he was reconducted to a worse cell cell to a worse cell cell to answer, and he was reconducted to a worse cell cell to a worse cell to to answer, and ne was reconducted to of pen, ink, was forbidden the use of pen, ink, w mer confinement, was sorbitated. But there er, and deprived of the sight of his friends. But there whose conversion was more desirable than that of a whose conversion was more she had taken an early bishops, the lady Mary: she had taken an early bishops, the lady Mary: sue has to any further to express to the protector her dislike to any further to express to the protector might remain in the to express to the protector net distinct remain in the on, and her wish that religion might remain in the But Somerson. on, and her wish that rengion might. But Somersome in which it was left by her father. But Somersome in which it was to accomplish the real in the in which it was lett by her factor. The real in her that his object was to accomplish the real in her that her than the real in her than the rea her that his object was to accomplish had deeply r of Henry, who, on his death-bed, had deeply r of Henry, who, on his deadh-bar reformation. The could not live to complete the reformation. The could not live to complete the reformation. for uniformity of worship which enacted severe pen for uniformity of worder.

The use of the old religion in a confidential letter to the protector, says, "The use of the stomachs of elements and the new is not yet printed in the stomachs of the new is not yet printed in the new is new in a confidential letter to the protector, says, "The use of the number of the new is not yet printed in the atomachs of ellipse a law; and the use of the new is not yet printed in the atomachs of ellipse a law; and the use of the new is not yet printed in the atomach of the new is not yet printed in the new is not yet printed in the by a law; and the use of the new is not yet printed in the assumed to parts of the realm; what countenance soever men make outwardly to parts of the realm; what countenance soever men make outwardly to parts of the power resteth." parts of the realm; what when they see the power resteth.

ties against every priest who should celebrate, every low or woman who should attend where a priest celebrated, even in a private house, gave the opportunity of admin Mary that she must conform to the provisions of the In her reply, the princess hinted that the lords could refuse the indulgence of liberty of worship to the of him who had raised them from nothing to the rank: and an appeal to the protection of her man emperor, rendered it politic in the council to main her wishes. But they only did this for a share and a few months two of her chaplains were the a pretence that the permission was limited was son, and did not extend to her household. The consented to see the lords of the council, but he was far from being satisfactory. She asserted that a was God's, and that she would neither change he are dissemble her opinion*." They replied, that "the tra not constrain her faith, but insisted that she should a subject, and not rule like a sovereign."

The ambassador of her cousin, the emperor, INT with a declaration of war, provided Edward refused the promise he had given in her favour. The your who had persuaded himself that he ought not to sister to continue the practice of an idolatrous works perplexed; but the bishops assured the royal theological "though to give license to sin, was sin, yet to wink at it for a time, might be borne, so all haste were used." The king lamented, with tears, the interest of the of his sister. To proceed with seeming impartiality, fenders of the royal household were first punished: Dr. Mallett, head chaplain in the family of the princes sent to the Tower; on which occasion an active comes ence ensued: many of those letters are still extant. of them the council say, " Our greatest change is not substance of our faith, no, not in one article of our creedthe difference is that we use the ceremonies, observational sacraments of our religion, as the apostles and first in ive church did. You use the same that corruption Ought in, and very barbarousness and ignorance and seem to hold for custom against truth, and h against custom." She declined entering into the and contended that the king was too young to Such matters. "Give me leave," she said, " to think touching your majesty's letters. Indeed ed with your own hand; and nevertheless, in my your majesty's in effect. Because it is well although (our Lord be praised) your majesty hath wledge and greater gifts than any others of your is not possible that your highness can be judge in eligion. And therefore I take it that the matter r proceedeth from such as do wish these things ce, which be most agreeable to themselves; by s (your majesty not offended) I intend not to science." the princess was informed that it was the royal at she should conform to the law, and that the ice should no longer be used in her house. To Tor and others who brought her this intelligence, "Rather than use any other service than was death of the late king, my father, I will lay my block and suffer death. When the king's majesty e to such years that he may be able to judge these mself, his majesty shall find me ready to obey his religion; but now, though he, good sweet king, Tre knowledge than any other of his years, yet it is ible that he can be a judge of these things. If my s do say no mass, I can hear none. They may do as they will; but none of your new service shall be my house, or I will not tarry in it *." From this time sposed that the princess heard mass more privately; council thought it prudent to connive at the circumwithout taking further notice of it. The king's health

a precarious state, which caused Mary sometimes to her brother: she was, on those occasions, attended by

^{*} LINGARD, vol. vii. page 96.2



of uniformity against all offenders. But the preacher whom no dread of punishment o Bocher of Kent; she, with Von Paris; v the flames for Unitarian principles. was practised on the natives, a wide latitu foreign religionists and dissenters; but wl distracted by religious quarrels, the court confusion by the disputes of Somerset ar duke had come out of the Tower, his per restored to him, and the king appointed bedchamber; and a reconciliation seem effected between him and the earl of Warwic of lord Lisle, Warwick's eldest son, with daughters of Somerset. Yet the heads of were at variance; Somerset sought to re had lost, Warwick resolved not to descend had attained. Their fears and suspicions mistrust each other; each had treacherous ested advisers, who goaded their irritated of revenge and bloodshed. Somerset som assassination alone could free him from th his enemies; while Warwick acted with a and decision which, as he was fully acquai

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possession of the broad seal; then to set fire to the depart for the Isle of Wight. Somerset was and sent to the Tower, whither he was followed the by his duchess, and several of their most intimate and all were treated as prisoners. While preparations for their trial, Edward's attention was diverted. fate of his uncle, by the arrival of the queen dowager She had been in France, and, at the request of king, passed through England to avoid a long sea, and was treated with great respect and London. The king met her in 1, kissed her, and led her to her chamber. They er in state, and at her departure, she received a hundred marks from the city, and a valuable the king.

proceeded in the cause against Somerset, whom ter some deliberation, acquitted of the charge of pronounced guilty of having conspired to seize n Warwick, one of the privy councillors; for s condemned to lose his life, and was beheaded ill, about six weeks after his trial; having spenting space, between that and his execution, in the ry cell in which his younger brother had been his order not three years before; but who had so great an indulgence from him, as he had rehis bitterest enemies, since the duke was allowed.

iament met the day following that of the execution etc. As it had been convened by him, many of its from attachment to his memory, defeated as much their power the measures of the new minister, and their power the measures of the new minister, and first time, given for a legal provision for the poor; thority granted to the churchwardens to collect the butions, with power to the bishops to punish the detect. The book of common prayer, which the legislature three years since attributed to the aid of the Holy Ghost, event during this session, by the advice of Bucer and

Peter Martyr, and the approbation of a committee of bishes and divines, several omissions, explanations, and improvements. A most beneficial amendment in the administration of justice was now introduced in cases of treason, so that person could be convicted of that crime unless on the oahed two lawful accusers, who should openly avow and maintain their charges against the accused.

Though the late statute had established the amended liturgy in every diocese of the kingdom, in Ireland, where the English language was but little understood, it was adopted only in those places where an armed force compelled its introduction. During the last-reign, Cranmer had prescribed to every test of orthodoxy promulgated by Henry. Since the death of that monarch he had receded from the opinions he had formerly entertained; so that it at last became difficult to decide what was, or was not, to be considered of the English church. To remedy the evil, Cran r obtained an order from the council to compose a body of religious doctrine, which arduous undertaking he completed in two works: the first contained a collection of the articles of religion; the second was a code of ecclesiastical constitutions. These matters, so important to the reformation, were completed in the last parliament. When Edward summoned the members of the two houses in the spring of 1653, his weak state of health compelled him to meet them at his residence of It was the object of the minister to obtain money for the liquidation of the king's debts; but as all his measures had latterly been opposed by the friends of his deceased rival, to secure a majority in the lower house orders had been issued to the sheriffs to pay attention to recommendation of the privy councillors in their respective districts: upon this sixteen individuals were nominated by the king in different letters to the sheriffs, and thus the desired subsidy was obtained.

Northumberland, by his rapacity, had so increased his former possessions during the last two years, that he helds pre-eminence of wealth and power, such as had never before been enjoyed by any subject in the realm; but the precarious

the severeign's health rendered the minister very as to the means of securing to himself the riches and test he had so industriously acquired. He very reasonindhetight; that if all were left to the mercy of his enemies, shale probably atone for his ambition on the scaffold. It briffere became his policy to multiply the resources of his ands; every office at court was successively intrusted to a or other of his creatures, whose predecessors received mity pensions as the reward of their resignation and the hea of their fature services. To connect his own with the bewests of other families, he married his fourth son, Guilford May, to lady Jane Gray, the grand-daughter of Mary, ter to Henry VIII.; his daughter Catharine to Lord sutlings, son of the earl of Huntingdon; and contrived pilier marriage between the lady Catharine Gray* and lord where, the son of the earl of Pembroke, who was indebted the firmer of Northumberland both for his title and his wester Nor did the minister's ambition stop here; but ing advantage of alarming symptoms in the king's disorder. ich coursed his physicians to declare his life could, at most, is a sew weeks, he suggested to the sick monarch herdinger that would ensue from the bigotry of Mary, who the suplunge the nation into the darkness of error and postition." And he ventured to ask, how "he, the king, answer it before God, if, by his connivance, he should while he had it in his power to avert, so direful an The statute of illegitimacy, Northumberland said, was tampepealed, as regarded the ladies Mary and Elizabeth, had, therefore, only to make a will, like his father did, and the crown on the posterity of his aunt the French The sick monarch listened with feelings of appro-Actuated by a belief that he was right in assuming same power which had been exercised by his father, or, saps, he deemed it a duty to sacrifice the ties of blood to interests of religion, he himself sketched a rough draft of 100 - 11F

hath semifical another daughter, the lady Mary Gray, who in 1565 was furtively in the Martin Koys, the gentleman porter. He was the largest man, she the most active weeken, at overt. Elizabeth threw them both into prison.

the new entail of the crown; and when it was fairly tusscribed, signed the copy with his name above and below, at

on each margin.

Edward sent for the judges, informed them he had weight the dangers which might ensue to the laws and liberties at religion of the country, in case of Mary's succession, and ordered them to draw up a legal instrument according to the written instructions. They would have remonstrated, but the

king was peremptory.

The chief justice informed the lords of the council, that such an instrument as the king required would subject those who had drawn the plan, and those who advised it, to the penalties of treason; at which Northum berland treathed with rage, and called them " traitors," and said, " he was ready to fight any man in so just a quarrel." The judges represented to Edward, that the succession had been settled by statute, and could only be altered by bringing a new bill into pullament. Edward repeated his order, that the instrument should be prepared. The lords were soon subdued by the thrests and promises of Northumberland; and Cranmer, who tequested admission into the royal presence, confesses that be had the weakness to yield to the wishes of Edward, contrary to his own conviction; and that having done so, he resolved to support the measure. But Northumberland, evidenty fearful that the will should not prove effective, contrived that the signatures of four-and-twenty of the legal advisers of crown should appear to another paper, to which they pledged their oaths and honour to "observe every article contained in his majesty's own device, respecting the succession, subscribed with his majesty's hand, in six several places, and it livered to certain judges and other learned men, that it mist be written in full order." This instrument was engrossed parchment, carried to the chancery, and authenticated the great seal.

Northumberland's next step was to get possession of the person of the lady Mary: he superseded the constable of the Tower with one of his own creatures; he secretly provided the place with ammunition; and the princess was required, by an

ier from the king's council, to repair to the court; but ring received a friendly hint of her danger, when on the id, she hastened back to Kenninghall in Norfolk.

The expected occurrence of the king's death happened on 3.6th of July, 1553. His abilities were equal, and, perps, superior to most boys of his age; but it must be reembered that, when the lords admired the precocious wism of their sovereign, who, at the age of twelve and fourteen. onounced his opinion in the council, with all the gravity of atured experience, that his preceptors had delivered their vn sentiments in short notes, with which they furnished him. ith respect to his religious belief, he was taught to consider his first duty to extirpate the worship of his fathers; and ith his last breath wasted a prayer to heaven that his subets might be preserved from the infection of "papistry;" t, it may be questioned whether his early death has not oved a benefit to the church of England, as it is now tablished. His sentiments were tinged with Calvanism: attempt was made to persuade him that episcopacy was an pensive and unnecessary institution; and it is probable that. a few more years, what then remained as the possessions of 3 bishoprics and chapters, might have been devoured by the pacity of the royal favourites. The following passage, from etter sent by Hobey to the protector, in 1549, will prove to reader that there was cause to apprehend such a result, the consequence of the present system of government. He 78, "The foreign protestants have good hopes, and pray mestly, therefore, that the king's majesty will appoint unto s good bishops an honest and competent living, sufficient · their maintenance, taking from them the rest of their ridly possessions and dignities, and thereby avoid the vain ry that telleth them truly and sincerely to do their duty." s had been told that 1500 horsemen had mustered at Bruss to meet the prince of Spain: "which," he adds, "when reard, remembering what great service such a number of osen men were able to do, specially in our country, wherein so much lack of good horsemen, it caused me to declare. der your grace's correction, what I thought; earnestly to

wish with all my heart that, standing with the kings majesty's pleasure and your prudence, all the prebends within England were converted to the like use, for the defence of country, and the maintenance of honest poor gentlemen."

Edward died unmarried, though an alliance had been projected between him and a daughter of Henry II. of Franco-He was buried in Henry VII.'s chapel at Westminster.

Christ's Hospital in London, that of St. Thomas in Southwark, and several free-schools, owe their establishment to the bounty of Edward VI.

CHAPTER XXX.

MARY.

During the last short reign the governors and councillos of the king were so occupied by their own ambitious views, and the progress of religious reform, that the objects of national policy were neglected; and England was degraded from the high station she had previously maintained in Europe. The extension of enclosures, and the new practice of letting lands at rack-rents, had driven from their home numerous families, whose fathers had lived on the farms for many generations; which, with the numbers who had formerly been relieved at the different monasteries, so increased the classes of the poor, that Lever exclaimed. "O merciful Lord! what a number of poor, feeble, halt, blind lame, sickly, yea, with idle vagabonds and dissembling calls mixed among them, lie and creep, begging in the my streets of London and Westminster." In this season national poverty, discontent, and immorality, did queen May ascend the throne of England.

Mary had hitherto been guided by the advice, and protected by the remonstrances, of Charles V., emperor of Germany. This sovereign, with his rival, Henry III. of France, had been watchful spectators since the death of Henry VIII. during the illness of his successor. Charles had disached Montmorenci, Marnix, and Reynard, from Brussels, his ambassadors to the English court, to inquire after the ck health of Edward; but with secret instructions to watch proceedings of the council, to fathom the extent of its mources, and to promote the accession of Mary. On the ther hand, the French monarch had sent the bishop of rleans, and the chevalier de Gyé, to frustrate and oppose ne designs of the emperor; for France feared the power of England united to that of Germany. The wishes of Henry. owever, were anticipated by his faithful servant Noailles, his sident ambassador in England, who offered to the council se aid of France, should England need its interference. Vhen Edward expired on the 8th of July, 1553, it was the itention of the council to conceal his death until they could scure the accession of lady Jane Gray, according to the ew settlement of the crown; but a note from lord Arundel onveyed the intelligence privately to Mary, who was then at oddesdon, and who instantly proceeded to Kenninghall in iorfolk, by which means she escaped being made a prisoner 1 the Tower, where every preparation had been arranged r her confinement.

Lady Jane was then sixteen years of age, a woman of entle manners, and superior talents. The illness of the king d given her the opportunity to enjoy some days in her vourite retirement at Chelsea, from whence her presence as required at Sion House. With perfect ignorance of the casion, she obeyed the summons; and when informed by e duke of Northumberland, that the king her cousin was sad: that his last prayer had been to preserve the realm om the infection of "papistry," and the misrule of his sters Mary and Elizabeth; that because of their being estards, consequently incapable by act of parliament of the eccession, he had passed them by, and had left the crown to as his lawful heir, she trembled, uttered a shriek, and ink to the ground. On her recovery she observed to those round her, that she seemed to herself a very unfit person to e a queen; but if the right were hers, she trusted God

would give her strength to wield the sceptre to his honour, and for the benefit of the nation. Such was Jane's confession in a letter to queen Mary. The following day she was me ducted to the Tower and proclaimed queen, a printed part having been circulated to inform the people that the ground of her claim were, the illegitimacy of the sisters Mary and Elizabeth, who being only Edward's sister by the half blood could not claim inheritance from him; that being single women there was danger of their subverting the liberties of the people by marriage with a foreign despot, and of restoring the jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome; these considerations had induced king Edward to limit the inheritance of the crown to the daughters of the duchess of Suffolk, who was nigh to him in blood, " naturally born within the realm." These last words were introduced by the council to exclude the Scottish line. The people listened in astonished silence; except a poor vintner's boy, one Gilbert Pot, who paid with his ears for his temerity in expressing his disapprobation The next day a messenger arrived from Mary with a letter, in which she declared her right to the sovereignty, and desired to be immediately proclaimed in the metropolis; and, as soon as possible, in all other parts of the kingdom. This was answered under the signatures of the archbishop, the chancellor, and twenty-one of the council, requiring Mary to abandon her false claims, and to submit as a dutiful subject to her lawful and undoubted sovereign. The party thought they had ensured success; the guards had swom obedience to lady Jane, a fleet of twenty armed vessels by in the river, a body of troops were waiting orders in the lake of Wight, and they held the exercise of the royal authority their own hands.

In a few hours the face of things was changed; the people knew nothing of lady Jane; but past events had convinced them of the ambition of Northumberland; and they saw only in the present proceedings a plot to deprive Mary, whom the people unanimously considered the rightful heir to the crown, in order to place it upon his own head. The partisans of Mary rallied round her, and before she received

Mistrier to her letter, she was with her friends on the road

Plainfured the presence to exhort the people from the light to support the cause of the lady Jane, and to oppose lighting of her idolatrous rival. In vain did Ridley exhaust in many of his elequence at St. Paul's cross: the profitures had not yet learned that religious belief could affect treditary right; and the eatholics were confirmed by the likey's aujustate in their adhesion to the interests of Mary. I Plantinghams the had been joined by the earl of Essex, to ford Thomas Howard, the Jerninghams, Bedingfields, higuards, Planting, and most of the neighbouring gentry.

Doubtesid distress seized the mind of Northumberland; Mary his heart failed him, and he ordered a retreat to tembridge. Mean time the council separated, and went in Buf this Biends. At Baynard's Castle a discussion was should by the earl of Arundel, who asserted the right of the to dissectors of Henry VIII. When he had finished, the if of Pembroke drew his sword, and exclaimed, " If the thindate of my lord of Arundel do not persuade you, this hing shall make Mary queen, or I will die in her quarrel." is with answered with shouts of approbation. Mary was hallahadd at St. Paul's cross, and the public rejoicings everyhave bore testimony of the people's joy. Lady Jane, after Mart reign of nine days, departed for Sion-house; she sufled much from apprehension of her husband's displeasure. sales had objected to his request of wearing the crown, by Fust of parliament, and said she would make him a duke, Make. To Northumberland was sent an order to acknow-Mary. He straight proceeded with Dr. Sandys, who preached the Sunday before against the daughters of his to the market-place, and there, with tears streaming first his check, proclaimed the Lady Mary, and raised his in the air in token of joy. The next morning he was arited on a charge of high treason; and, with many others, is conducted to the Tower.

The help Elizabeth had taken no part in the contest: to an

offer from Cumberland, which was intended as a bribe, to induce her to relinquish her right to the succession, she replied that she had no right to renounce that claim so long as if elder sister was living. Elizabeth met the new quent Aldgate, and, as they rode together through the streets, end eye was directed towards the royal sisters. In personal appearance Elizabeth had the advantage: the figure of the queen was short, and small; she had nothing of the majestic pertof her father, nor the beautiful features and graceful carriage of her mother; the lines of care were imprinted on her countenance, and her dark piercing eyes struck with awe all on whom they were fixed. On entering the Tower, the duchess of Somerset, the duke of Norfolk, the son of the late marquis of Exeter, and Gardiner, all state prisoners, were kneeling on the green. Mary shed tears, called them her prisoners, bade them rise, and gave them their liberty.

She formed her council with impartiality, and she issued two proclamations which drew upon her the blessings of the nation: by one she restored a depreciated currency to its one ginal value; by the other she remitted to her people the subsidy of four shillings in the pound on land, and two shillings and eight-pence on goods, which had been granted by the late parliament. She restored to the court the magnificent style of dress which was used in the reign of her father, and which had been exchanged by the reformed preachers, for a sombre and funeral appearance, more adapted, in their notions, to exclude the pomp of the devil. This pleased the young nobility, and gave a new impulse to all classes of persons. Her coronation was performed by Gardiner after the ancient rite, and concluded with a banquet in Westminster Hall. In the church Elizabeth carried the crown, and the served in a whisper to Noailles, that it was very heavy. "Be patient," he replied, " it will seem lighter when it is on your own head." But now that Mary was firmly seated on the throne, she knew not one in whom she could place her confidence, since of all the leading members of the council there was not one, who, in the lifetime of her father, or her brother, had not been her enemy; but she persuaded herself that the eror could have no interest in deceiving her, and she lved to consult him on three important points,—" the shment of those who had conspired against her, the ce of a husband, and the restoration of the ancient wor-

> the first of these Charles replied, that it was the common est of sovereigns that rebellion should not go unpunished, divised her to blend mercy with justice. Mary selected nonly from a long list of prisoners as objects of punish; and no persuasion could induce her to include the lady in that number, because she did not consider Jane as complice of Northumberland, but as a mere puppet in ands. On the submission of the duke, and his sincere of repentance, as stated by bishop Gardiner to the queen his visit to the duke in the Tower, there is little doubt. The would have granted him his life, but for the interce of his enemies, who, by an application to the emperor, thin to inform Mary, "that it was not safe for her or atte that Northumberland should be spared."

regard to her marriage, the queen shewed great marks refavour to young Courteney, whose royal descent and rited confinement had made him the favourite of the : but his immoral conduct, which had not hitherto been m, was so disgraceful and offensive to female dignity, be soon entirely forfeited the esteem and favour of his eign. This immorality is noticed by Lingard (in oppoto the assertion of Hume, who has given a romantic ment of the circumstance on no better authority than his imagination) as the cause of queen Mary's rejection of teney, after she had created him earl of Devonshire, and kept him and his mother, the countess of Exeter, near her on. Mary consulted the emperor, and Charles was too aware of the superior advantages to be derived from an nce with England, not to seek the union for his own son ip, which would give him a complete triumph over his rival ry; but as this proposal would require great address and agement, he trusted the commission to the influence of nard, and contented himself with telling Mary that a foreign prince would bring a firmer support to her throne, and, would his age allow him, he should himself aspire to the honour ther hand. He might, however, solicit for others; his son, the prince of Spain, was most dear to him; but he wished not persuade, only that she would consult her inclination and judgment, and fearlessly communicate to him the result of her own opinion.

It was soon known that Philip had been proposed, and that he had not been rejected. The chancellor delivered the sentiments of the council, when he reminded the queen that the arrogance of the Spaniards would not be patiently endured by her subjects; that the alliance would subject this country to a war with France, and that the marriage would not be valid without a 'dispensation from the pope, whose authority was not acknowledged in England. Mary had acquainted Henry and Charles with her determination to restore the ancient worship. The former offered the aid of his army to accomplish her design; the latter advised her to move with caution, and to wait for the consent of her parliament.

She issued no order respecting the ancient service, but said she had a right to worship God as she pleased in her own palace. The reformed preachers became alarmed; the catholic clergy transgressed the existing laws, and a riot was occasioned by the celebration of mass in a church in the Horsemarket. When Bourne, one of the royal chaplains, was preaching at St. Paul's cross, he complained of the late innovations; immediately a voice in the crowd called out, "pull him down," and a dagger being thrown, which struck one of the columns of the pulpit, he withdrew for shelter into SL Paul's church. The queen declared that she could not cuceal her religion, which she had practised from her infaugi but added she had no intention to compel others to embrace it "till further order was taken by common consent." The reformers at this time looked to the princess Elizabeth, the heir presumptive to the crown, as the supporter of the new faith; but she became of her sister's opinion, and sent to purchase in Flanders the ornaments in use for the celebration of mass. Cranmer, who had so zealously laboured in the cause of the

intion, was treated with leasity by the queen, who did the him to the Tower, but allowed him to retire to his at Lambeth. While there, the catholic service was imped in his enthedral at Lambeth; at which he was in affected, and refuted publicly the report of it having it done at his desire. He was afterwards sent to the year by the causeil.

The accession of Mary afforded a proud triumph to films HIL, the Roman pontiff, and he appointed cardinal the to be his legate to the queen, as well as to the emperor profess and the king of France. But Pole was unwilling to the his activement on the margin of the lake of Guarda, and input Gianfiancesco Commendone to London, in the chapter of a stranger, as coming to settle the affairs of his dependent. Through the acquaintance of Lee, one of the put household, Commendone had interviews with the queen. Incommissioned him to inform the pontiff, that it was her the envises with to see her kingdom reconciled to the holy a last she advised caution, and said, that every trace of a prespondence between her and the court of Rome must, lithe present, he carefully concealed.

favy met her first parliament with a strong desire to effect Minus: to remove from herself the stain of illegitimacy; # restore to its former ascendency the religion of her . There appeared little doubt as to the attainment of Figure object; but to the second it was foreseen that the premacy of the pope would form a powerful objection. In transad meeting of the new parliament a bill passed, by this was enected, that the marriage between Henry and the mother of Mary, should be reputed good and M, to all intents and purposes whatsoever. Another bill black that the same form of worship and administration the sacraments, as had been used in the last year of Way VIII., should be revived and practised, from the 20th the following month (December). Another bill passed, The attainder to the persons of Thomas, archbishop of subury: Guilford Dudley, Jane Dudley his wife, and Ambress Dudley. All these persons were arraigned and MARY.

convicted during the session; but it was not the tention they should suffer, as she only meant to see

alarm the loyalty of their party.

The reformers were unanimous in their exertions to Mary from forming a marriage with the prince of 8 a measure which they dreaded would place a for despotic prince on the English throne. The amin'of dinal Pole in England was anxiously desired, beaute it understood that he was against the match; but the intriof the French ambassador Noailles prevented his too This minister indulged his antipathy to Spain even at a risk of offending his sovereign. He encouraged die to contented, and made so powerful a party, as to proper murder of Arundel and of Paget, who were much in favor the alliance; but his project was given up, and Manmind an address from the commons, praying her to seed a beband from her own nobility. She took umbrage a that advice, and attributing their proceeding to the Gardiner, she declared her determination to Pro his cunning. She took the imperial ambass dor hatel into her private oratory, and on her knees after having recited the hymn, " Veni Creat called on God to witness that she pledged her prince of Spain; and while she lived would other man for her husband." Though this pro - lewel profoundly secret, her manner and conduct sle resolved. In her answer, however, to the ac commons, she pleaded her right to select a herself; but promised that in her choice she should considerate as to the happiness of her subjects as and they were satisfied.

No pains were spared to create dissension between royal sisters; Elizabeth was jealously watched by the perialists, while she was sedulously flattered by the on party. She was said to have received nocturnal visits Noailles, which she convinced Mary to be false. On other hand, she was told that her sister meant to decla a bastard by act of parliament; and she was supposed

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ace, because the queen sometimes gave the precedence pany to the countess of Lennox, and the duchess of who were the representatives of her aunts, the and French queens. In 1554, the arrival of ambasfrom the emperor, brought the marriage of Mary a nearer view; and while Gardiner settled the terms inion, which he did with great prudence and foresight, o protect England from any encroachments on its and guarded it against any hostile consequences in ous alliances, Noailles and his adherents employed tifice to inflame the public discontent. After many I futile suggestions, it was resolved to wait the arrival who was expected in the spring, and then to marry ey, whom the queen had created duke of Devonshire. beth, and to proclaim them king and queen of L. A surmise of this marriage was instilled into I of Elizabeth, under a pretence that it was the only which she could escape the suspicions of her sister ad the bitter though undeserved enmity of Philip.

time the lords of the council were not ignorant of the

of the French ambassador, and the designs of the
One of the officers of Elizabeth's household having

t a stranger, calling himself a pastor of the French
had, during the last month, several conferences with
cess, it was inferred that this was an agent of the dis, and it was proposed to confine her; but Mary would
w of it, and Paget was sent to Elizabeth to admonish
her duty to the queen.

next day the conspiracy was made public; Courteney, inversation with Gardiner, informed him of the whole fler which the party, in defiance of the royal authority, d to arm themselves and their tenants. A letter, by Wyat, to advise Elizabeth's removal to Dunningian intercepted by one of the council, and the queen ed her to court; but the princess shut herself in her at Ashridge, and ordered her servants to fortify the

In this affair the leaders confided in the influence of opinion; they thought that the nation unanimously

condemned the projected marriage, and that Mary and as easily removed from the throne as lady Jane in been: a very few days dispelled the illusion. It will only that the insurrection assumed a formidable appe and the insurgents would soon have been dissolved one Bret, in the troops of the royalists, who wereld been leagued with them. He, on seeing the miles claimed, " Masters, we are going to fight is quarrel, against our friends and countrymen, was to preserve us from the dominion of foreigners think that no English heart should oppose them at resolved, for my own part, to shed my blod in the all this worthy captain, master Wyat." This goal and the rebel party gave a great increase of continue cause, and they immediately proceeded to label every precaution had been taken to secure the court, the Tower, and the city. The mayor class ordinary meeting of the citizens, to which the and was received in the Guildhall with every martin She complained of the men of Kent said they have demned her intended marriage, but now had their motive was to obtain the exercise of the rous and to abolish the national worship*. "As for " riage," she continued, "ye shall understand ball prised not the doing thereof, without the advice al privy council; nor am I, I assure ve, so bent to my or so affectionate, that for my own pleasure I would where I lust, or needs must have a husband. I have lived a maid; and doubt nothing, but with God's grant able to live so still. Certainly, did I think that this were to the hurt of you my subjects, or to the impe of my royal estate, I would never consent thereunta I promise you, on the word of a queen, that if it shalls pear to the lords and commons in parliament, to la benefit of the whole realm, I will never marry will Wherefore stand fast against these rebels, your enem mine; fear them not, for I assure ye, I fear them

[.] LING ARD, vol. vis. p. 215.

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d I will leave with you my lord Howard, and my lord, who will be assistant with the mayor for your de-She departed, and before the next morning more venty thousand persons had enrolled their names for tection of the metropolis.

1 Wyat led his rebel army into the city, the council is the queen to enter the Tower for safety; but she is her determination to remain at her post; and the osite St. James's palace was occupied by a battery one and a squadron of horse. The rebels proceeded rate; Wyat, being refused admittance, endeavoured his way back; but finding his cause lost, he surlat Temple Bar, to sir Maurice Berkeley, who took risoner to the Tower.

queen's clemency in sparing the lives of the former Ltors had been blamed by the emperor, and by her uncillors, and she herself attributing the present inon to her former lenity, while the remembrance of her still agitated her thoughts, signed the warrant for the n of Guilford Dudley, and the lady Jane. The life tter was said to have been forfeited by the rebellious of her father; yet would it have been more to the of Mary to have found some other means of securing from the disloyal conduct of this family, rather than leath of that unfortunate lady*. The duke of Suffolk itied; his carelessness of his daughter's safety, and his ss in seeking to excuse himself by the accusation of excited the indignation of the public against him, course of the examination of the several prisoners in wer, sufficient proof appeared that the princess Elizas privy to the insurrection, and, indeed, that she was pal party in it; she being the person whom the con-

been intended to execute the lady Jane and lord Guilford together, but we that such a scene might have excited a commotion in their favour, it was it hat lady Jane should suffer within the Tower. She submitted her neck to oner with astonishing firmness and composure. Sir John Gage, constable of took occasion, as he led lady Jane to execution, to request some small prehe might keep as a perpetual memorial of her. She gave him her table-books, the had just written three sentences on seeing her husband's dead body; one's ter in Latin, and the third in the English language.

ephinton interior to pince upon the throne. Italia incorp thus obtained from the prisoners, the count possession of two notes, sent by the robel leaks, if the minimum of the notes of the countries of the countries of the countries in her favour. She was committed to the Tower, man, it caths and curses, she maintained her imposement.

Elimbeth had many enemies: it has often ben insited that Ganifaer thirsted for her blood; but his conducte hat tainly partial he land a different disposition towards her; fan, it expansions the law in favour of the princess, he gave to his enemies an opportunity to injure him with the quen, which they did not afterwards forget. Elizabeth was likewel, will repaired to Weedstock. The conduct of Novilles, with white many of the transceable plans had originated, was allowed passe unmaticed, lest his punishment might have been falsoully heatilities between England and France.

A temperary tranquility being restored, it beams in edject of the two houses of parliament to reconcile in parliament to reconcile in parliament to reconcile in parliament. This they did by declaring to terms of the trenty, which contained every security that the most ingenious could devise, or the most timorous desire; and placed the honour, the franchises, and the rights of the natives, beyond danger or controversy. The queen, what she exchanged treaties with count Egmont (who had aid as proxy for Philip), expressed, before the lords of the cound, her determination to redeem the pledge of faith she had given to her people on the day of her coronation. Satisfied with this reasoning, both houses confirmed the treaty of marriage, and declared that Mary, after its solemnization, should or-

^{*} These were dated on the 28th, 28th, and 20th of January, and were with a cipher.

^{† &}quot;To this present hewer," she says, "I protest afore God (who shall juge my truth, whatnower malice shall devise) that I never practised, conciled, nor consented my thinge that might be prejudicial to your person any way, or dangerous to the same y any mene. As for the traitor what, he might peraventur writ me a letter: but on by shifted I never received any from him; and as for the copie of my letter sent to the Frank hings, I pusy God confound me eternally, if ever I sent him word, message, token, of letter by any messes:—and to this my truthe I wil stand in to my dethe, "—Limeally, "I will like to.

cercise the sovereignty as sole queen, without giving or right to Philip, as tenant by courtesy, or by any nner. Noailles, who sometimes commits some blunders, has represented Gardiner to have sugat Mary, like her father, ought to have the power of ; the succession after her death, but no mention of motion appears in the journals.

ench king, encouraged by his ambassador, still enhopes of preventing the marriage. Misled by the ion of Noailles, to suppose the people unanimous in osition to Philip, he ordered that the hopes of the hould be kept alive; to do which the following llusion was practised. The most extraordinary ere heard to issue from a wall in Aldersgate-street. 1 with words of obscure meaning, which were immeterpreted to the crowd, by persons in the secret. was believed to be superhuman, the voice of the ost, warning a wicked and incredulous generation. hed against the marriage of the queen, and the imthe mass: and threatened the citizens with war. estilence, and earthquakes. Multitudes assembled sten to the spirit, till workmen, by order of the mabegan to demolish the wall; when Elizabeth Crofts. woman of eighteen, crept out of her hiding-place, essed that she had been hired and instructed to act by a person of the name of Drakes. She was put ory*.

Philip landed at Southampton the English gave him ng reception. Pleased with the youth and grace of n, and the pleasure expressed in his countenance, ators saluted him with exclaiming, "God save your The marriage was performed in the cathedral Winchester, by Gardiner, in the presence of crowds y collected from all parts of Christendom. From er the royal pair proceeded to the metropolis, where, I appearances are indications of internal feeling, the

^{*} LINGARD, vol. vii, p. 234.

king and queen might have flattered themselves that they reigned in the hearts and the affections of their subjects.

Mary, convinced that the failure of the insurrection be greatly strengthened her power, turned her thoughts to the re-union of the English church with that of Rome; in the effecting of which much was to be expected from the opposition of those who felt conscientious objections to the anthority of the pontiff, and of others whose objections arose from motives of interest. The first class was in no way formidable; but in the second was included almost every family in England, since these had all shared the plunder of the church: and, to quiet apprehension, Gardiner saw the surest steps would be the obtaining a bull which should confirm all past alienation of church property to the present claimants; but as he knew Pole differed from him in opinion on this point, he obtained the cardinal's detention in Flanders, while Manriquez explained the difficulty to Julius, in the names of the king and the queen. The pontiff, by his bull, empowered the legate to give, alienate, and transfer, to the present possessors, all property which had been tom from the church, during the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI.

The papal legate, Pole, was met at Dover by the lord Montague and the bishop of Ely; and having proceeded in his barge to Westminster, the chancellor received him on his landing, the king at the gate of the palace, and the queen at the head of the staircase. A few days after his arrival, the queen being seated on the throne in the parliament house, Pole absolved "all those present, and the whole nation, and the dominions thereof, from all heresy and schism, and all judgments, censures, and penalties, for that cause incurred; and restored them to the communion of holy church, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost."

Gardiner, on the following Sunday, preached at St. Paul's Cross the celebrated sermon in which he bitterly lamented his conduct under Henry VIII., and exhorted all who had faller with him, to rise with him, and seek the unity of the catholic church.

By the proceedings which then took place in parliament, the

system of religious polity, which had prevailed for many ties before Henry VIII., was re-established in England. is jurisdiction which the pontiff, in virtue of his sucry, claimed to exercise within the realm, was comprised the following heads: 1st. He was acknowledged as bishop of the christian church, with authority to reform edress heresies, errors, and abuses, within the same. To him belonged the institution, or confirmation, of select. 3rd. He could grant to clergymen licenses of sidence, and permission to hold more than one benefice, are of souls. 4th. He dispensed with the canonical ments of matrimony; and 5th. He received appeals spiritual courts.

Fre close of the session a pardon was granted to the res in the Tower. Elizabeth appeared at court, and ending some months on a visit to the king and queen, ated her with kindness and respect, she returned to house in the country.

Joailles had persuaded himself that the emperor's object in his son's marriage was to secure the power and against France, he abated nothing of his earnest-keeping up the spirit of the discontented, and he in sending misstatements to his royal master.

Dasequence of the papal authority being restored in a, ambassadors were sent from this court to the holy the before they had proceeded far on their journey, Julius and was succeeded by Marcellus II., who enjoyed the honours only twenty-one days. At his death the cabinet used their interest in behalf of cardinal Pole; this they were not joined by the French monarch, or peror: Caraffa was chosen, and took the name of V. On the day of his coronation the English embassy Rome, but they waited three days without the city, bull was published at the request of Philip and Mary, raised Ireland to the dignity of a kingdom: they were stroduced and kindly received by Paul. Carne related to the stronging with them the usual presents.

It was the unfortunate belief at this period, that it was an indispensable duty to punish the professors of erroneus doctrines. During the short reign of Edward VI., the Itformers exercised the same spirit of persecution which they had formerly condemned in the papists. By the accessions Mary, the power of the sword passed from the hands of one party to those of the other, but with whom the present persecution first originated is even now a matter of doubt. To those of the reformed writers who assign the infamy of the measure to Gardiner, the general tenor of his conduct may supply an answer. When at a later period sir Francis Hastings applied to him the epithet " bloody," Persons indignantly replied: "Verely I beleeve that if a man should ask any good-natured protestant that lived in queen Marie's tyme, and hath both wit to judge and indifferency to speak the truthe, without passion, he wil confesse that no one great man in that government was further off from blood and bloodinesse, or from crueltie and revenge, than bishop Gardiner, who was known to be a most tender-harted and myld man in that behalf; in so much that it was sometymes, and by some great personages, objected to him for no small fault, to be ever full of compassion in the office and charge that he bare: yea, to him especially it was imputed, that none of the greatest and most knowen protestantes in queen Marie's reigne were ever called to accompt, or put to trooble for religion."

The question regarding the punishment of heretics was frequently debated by the lords in the council, and an act to revive the statutes enacted to suppress the doctrine of the Lollards passed the two houses of parliament in the year tollowing that of the queen's marriage.

The beginning of 1555 shewed a lowering prospect to the reformed preachers. The first victims to this act were examined before Gardiner, assisted by thirteen bishops, and in a crowded court of lords and knights, they replied that the works of Gardiner himself had taught them to reject the authority of the bishop of Rome. A delay of twenty-four hours was granted them; but they scorned to feign an assent to doctrines which they did not believe, and all suffered with

equal constancy. These protomartyrs of the reformed church of England were, Rogers, Saunders, Hooper, and Taylor.

From that time Gardiner never afterwards took his seat on the bench, and Bonner, bishop of London, filled the ungracious office. Six other prisoners were excommunicated, and delivered to the civil power; but their execution was suspended in consequence of a sermon, preached by Alphonso di Castroa Spanish friar, and confessor to Philip. He condemned the persecution as contrary to the true spirit of Christianity, and exhorted his hearers to practise mildness, not severity: saying it was the duty of bishops, not to seek the death, but to instruct the ignorance of their misguided brethren. It is probable that the fires of Smithfield might not have been rekindled but for the excesses committed by some of the gospellers, and by a new conspiracy which had been organized in the counties of Cambridge, Suffolk, and Norfolk. The magistrates in the disaffected neighbourhood were ordered to reform those guilty of heresy by admonitions, and if they continued obstinate to give them to the ordinary, that they might by charitable instruction be removed from their naughty opinions, or be ordered according to the laws provided in that behalf. In general, the bishops declined proceeding against such of the preachers as were sent to them, until their reluctance was remarked by some of the council, and a reprimand was sent to Bonner that the king and queen marvelled at his want of zeal, and required him to proceed according to law. The prelates dared no longer hesitate, and one victim encouraged another to imitate his constancy under sufferings which it would be painful to relate. The most distinguished of the reformers were Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer. men were now compelled to undergo the same punishment they had concurred in inflicting, during the preceding reign, on the anabaptists.

Ridley was born at Wilmontswick in Tynedale. He had studied in the universities of Cambridge, Paris, and Louvain, and had obtained preferment in the English church through the interest of Cranmer. In learning he was superior to the other reformed prelates, and his refusal to marry, though he did not condemn marriage in other divines, raised his reputation very high. His zeal for the new doctrine led him to support the projects of Northumberland. His sermons against Mary and Elizabeth caused his confinement in the Town, where he betrayed his conscience by conforming to the ancient faith; but his apostacy was severely lashed by the pen of Bradford, and his speedy repentance again edified his persecuted brethren.

Latimer in the commencement of his career often exhibited a vacillation of opinion which is seldom found in a man who aspires to the palm of martyrdom. His wayward mind endangered his life under Henry, but he had then powerful friends at court,-Butts, the king's physician, Cromwell, and Anne Bolevn, then queen consort : the latter retained him as her chaplain. He pleased Henry by his coarse invectives against the papal authority, and the monarch gave him the bishopric of Worcester, which he afterwards forfeited by rendering his orthodoxy suspicious. The accession of Edward recalled him to court. His eloquence was bold and vehement, and seasoned with quaint conceits, low jests, and a sort of buffoonery that suited the taste of his hearers, so that the boys would exclaim as they followed him to the pulpit, " Have at them, father Latimer, have at them." However, he was incautious when he trod on political ground, and in speaking of the succession gave it as his opinion that it would hea greater benefit to England that God should take the ladies Mary and Elizabeth to himself, than that they should, by marrying foreign princes, endanger the reformed church. Ridley and Latimer suffered together in 1555. To shorten their sufferings at the stake, bags of gunpowder were suspended to their necks; but Ridley endured long and excruciating pain from the weight of the faggots with which his brotherin-law had covered him, thinking thereby to hasten his death, but which, pressing too closely, prevented the flames ascending, so that the lower extremities were consumed before the vital parts were touched. Upon one of the by-standers hearing him call out that " he could not burn," the pile was opened, and an explosion of the gunpowder extinguished his life.

nmer, towards whom the provisions of the canon law trictly observed, was waiting in confinement the period d for his answer to come from the papal court, and on . from the window of his cell, his companions led to ion, his resolution wavered: however, he recovered his ss, but that only for a short time, till the sentence was nced to him from Rome, and then his fortitude again L to his fears, and in seven successive instruments he I the faith which he had taught, and approved of that But this recantation could not save he had opposed. he council had decided that the political offences were at to be overlooked, and they required he should suffer msample's sake." Having obtained the respite of a few me made a full and public declaration of his conduct, -ledged himself the author of the divorce between and Catharine, and of the evils which were the result; L himself of blasphemy against the sacrament; and d the pope to forgive his offences against the apostolic king and queen to forgive his transgressions, and Lethe pity of the whole realm, and the universal church, wretched soul. On the morning of the fatal day a, a Spanish friar, who had often visited Cranmer, assist him in his last preparation, and submitted onsideration a paper, which he advised him to read at The archbishop transcribed and signed the paper; In the friar was gone, he wrote a second copy, in which ted the part asserting the queen's right, and, instead of • Fession of faith contained in the original copy, he suba disavowal of the retractations he had already made. ; the sermon preached by Dr. Cole, previous to the ion, Cranmer stood on a platform, " the very image of ." At the conclusion he read his paper, which was in attentive silence until he recalled his former recanta-The lord Williams called to him to " remember himand play the Christian." "I do," replied the arch-; "it is now too late to dissemble. I must now speak 1th." He was conducted to the stake, declaring t ever changed his belief; that his recantations h

wrung from him by the hope of life; and that, " as his had had offended by writing contrary to his heart, it should be first to receive its punishment." To the surprise of all a thrust his hand into the fire, saying, " This hath offended The Catholics expressed their disappointment by invertis against his insincerity; the Protestants defended his memory by maintaining that his constancy at the stake had atoned for

his apostacy in prison*.

From the period of Pole's appointment to the see of Canterbury, we do not find that any other person suffered for his religious faith in that diocese; but the persecution generally continued, except at short intervals, during the reign of Mary. If any thing could be urged in extenuation of the cruelties then exercised, it would be the great and frequent provocation given by the reformers; yet these deductions will take but little from the infamy of the measures which condemned, in the space of four years, nearly two hundred persons to perish in the flames for religious opinion. As the mind looks back with horror on those scenes, it learns to bless the legislation of a more tolerant age.

The affairs of the kingdom in their political relations had undergone but little change; Noailles continued the sunc career of intrigue, and by his own duplicity gained the like tharacter for his royal master. The emperor had become weary of the fatigues of government, and required the presence of his son Philip in Flanders; but Mary, who supposed herself pregnant, (the event had been announced in the November following her marriage,) obtained from him a promise not to leave her till after her delivery. The usual prepara-

^{*} Cranmer's first introduction to king Henry VIII, occurred at Waltham during the monarch's progress through several counties, and in the house of Mr. Counties, to whose sons Cranmer was preceptor. He had lost his professorship of divinity . Caford by entering into the state of matrimony. He was esteemed for his piety, leaving and moderation; but he had read the works of Luther, and was a secret admirer of his doctrine. Being desired by Gardiner and Fox to deliver his sentiments respecting the divorce then proposed between Henry and his queen Catharine, he advised constant all the universities of Europe, saying, " If they approved the marriage, the scraples would cease; if they condemned it, the pope would not presume to result the solicitations of so great a monarch, when seconded by the opinion of the learned men Christendom." On this being told to Henry, be swore, with more alacrity than delication " That Cranmer had got the right sow by the ear."

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were all made, public prayers were offered up for her and that of her child; physicians were kept in attend-nd ambassadors were appointed to announce the news ign courts, and much time was passed in anxious exon, when at length it was ascertained that a disease en mistaken for a state of pregnancy.

ip departed to Flanders, having strongly recommended een to the care of cardinal Pole. In the absence of her ad, Mary employed her mornings in acts of devotion and -; her afternoons she gave to the affairs of the state; > new measure was adopted without the consent of who kept up a regular intercourse, by letter, with the ers. Mary had soon to regret the loss of her able and I minister Gardiner, who, the last time he spoke in the exerted his eloquence successfully in procuring the conparliament to the queen's proposal of restoring that a of the church property which had been appropriated crown to the use of the clergy, to be placed at the disof the cardinal, for the augmentation of small livings, oport of preachers, and the furnishing of exhibitions to s in the universities. The queen re-established the Friars at Greenwich, the Carthusians at Sheen, and the ins at Sion. The dean and prebendaries of Westr gave up their church to a colony of Benedictine ; the knights of St. John were restored, and the dig-Lord Prior was conferred on Sir Thomas Tresham; fall these, the hospital of the Savoy was alone allowed nain after the death of Mary.

expresence of Gardiner had checked the spirit of the is; but no sooner was he removed, than a new conspiracy ormed against Mary and Philip. There is every reason pose that Elizabeth, in whose favour the conspiracy had planned, was privy to its operations. To Philip she her escape from danger. Finding that Mary was not to leave issue to succeed her, she wished to retain Elizaor the succession; fearing that otherwise the crown be claimed by the young queen of Scots, and thus add power of his rival, the king of France. Mary professed

to believe her sister innocent, and sent her a ring in token of her affection; and Elizabeth expressed her abhorrence of my sinister attempts in a letter to the queen, in which she wished "that there were good surgeons for making anatomies of hearts, then, whatsoever others should subject by malice, be queen would be sure of by knowledge: and the more such misty clouds should offuscate the clear light of her truth, the more her tried thoughts would glisten to the dimming of their hidden malice."

She, however, had formed the intention to avail herself of an invitation from the French monarch, through his ambassador, and accept an asylum in France; but Noailles was gone, and his successor dissuaded her from this step, and told her, if she ever hoped to wear the crown of England, she must not, on any occasion, quit its shores. The protestants advised her to select the prince of Denmark, or the king of Sweden, as her husband, both being her suitors. Elizabeth referred them to her sister, at the same time she assured the queen of its being her own desire, with her good pleasure, to remain a single woman. Mary approved of Philibert, duke of Savoy, for Elizabeth, as the most probable means to secure the exercise of the catholic worship after her death; and Philip, who would have been glad to indemnify the duke for the loss of his hereditary estates by the reversion of the English crown, wanted Mary to use her authority with her sister; but the former replied, that it was essential to marriage that the will should be free, and she refused to use any severity. Elizabeth continued to reside at Hatfield, and sometimes at the court, in a state of apparent liberty, though she was always under the eyes of watchfal guardians. Though Mary, at the request of her husband, treated her sister with kindness in private, and with respect in public, there existed no genuine sentiments of sisterly love between them; since Mary regarded Elizabeth as a bastard and a rival, and Elizabeth looked upon Mary as a jealous and vindictive sovereign.

The king's absence added to the disquietude of the queen, and she sent to him the lord Paget to urge his return; but was occupied in negotiations in defence of his own lom of Naples, which he considered he was in some er of losing by the accession of Caraffa to the papel . Caraffa had always distinguished himself by his oppoto the Spanish ascendancy. In consequence of the exjealousy between the pontiff and Philip, letters had been epted which convinced the pontiff that the Spanish goent was secretly effecting his removal from the pope-Henry of France had formed a secret league with Paul Noailles had orders to conceal from England by any >ods he might find needful, for expediency superseded >ther law in the breast of the French king, who, from no motive, had acted the part of a bitter enemy to Mary, is ambassador had ably seconded the intention of his -. French troops now poured into Italy; and to aggra-'hilip still more, the resentment of families, whose rehad suffered by religious persecution, was roused to their treasonable practices against Mary. d, grandson to the late duke of Buckingham, called the exiles to join his standard, and exhorted them to o preserve their lives, lands, wives, children, and trea-"from the tyrannic sway of the Spaniards." The In displayed their loyalty in opposing the views of ; and Henry, by attempting to embarrass the queen, ced her to lend her husband that aid which it should Deen the object of France to avert. From the accession ry to the throne, Henry had maintained towards her the rance of a friend, while all along he had acted as an sary. A proclamation was issued charging him with g supplied her enemies with money to procure ships and s, and warning the English merchants to abstain from affic in the dominions of Henry, against whom it was ined to declare war. The victory of St. Quinton was the t of this resolution, but the French sought an ample ree in the siege of Calais, which they recovered from the ish, after it had remained in their possession more than nundred years. Some writers, in stating this occurrence, been inclined to blame the ministers for not sufficiently pro viding for its defence; while others have attributed the last Calais to treasonable conduct. Lord Wentworth, the governand some of the officers, were tried on their return to England.

The English government were suspicious of the item tions of Philip, who offered the aid of his foreign how to recover Calais, and they refused the service, from a be lief that he meant to keep the place for himself; but they afterwards proved his fidelity to England, when Philip refused every offer of reconciliation with France, because Henry refused to grant Calais, the surrender of which was made the indispensable condition of the treaty. To Mary the loss of Calais caused such severe affliction, that on her death-bed she declared, if she were opened, the word "Calais" would be found engraven on her heart. Her health had been very delicate since her supposed pregnancy, and an attack of a fever, which had been fatal to thousands of her subjects, confined her three months to her chamber. During that time her majesty's piety, her cheerfulness, and resignation, edified her attendants: on her requiring from Elizabeth to hear an avowal of her religious sentiments, the princess declared herself to be a true and conscientious believer in the catholic creed; and that she could only do now what she had done before, confirm the assertion with an oath; and she projed God " that the earth might open and swallow her up alive, if she were not a catholic." As the queen's danger increased she ordered Jane Dormer, one of her maids of honour, and afterwards duchess of Feria, to carry to Elizabeth the jettle in her custody, and to make her three requests: that sit would be good to her servants, would repay the sums of money which had been lent on privy seals, and would support the established church. On the morning of her death mas was celebrated in her chamber: she was perfectly sensible and expired a few minutes before its conclusion. Pole had also been some time confined by a fever, and su vived his royal relative only twenty-two hours. He ha reached his fifty-ninth, Mary her forty-second year.

The moral character of this queen is acknowledged by a writers to have been such as to claim respect from even the irulent of her enemies. It has been before observed extirpation of erroneous doctrine was then inculcated ty by the leaders of every religious party; she thereby practised what they taught. The decency of Mary's as been mentioned with applause by those who lathe dissoluteness which prevailed in that of her suc-

In the affairs of government Mary always sought and profited by the information she received. At one Spanish ambassador submitted to her perusal a propy which to render her independent of parliament: it n drawn by a person who wished to ingratiate himself r favour. She sent for Gardiner, and bade him give real sentiments, as he would answer at the judgment-God. Having carefully perused it, "Madam," replied late, "it is a pity that so virtuous a lady should be ded by such sycophants. The book is naught; it is ith things too horrible to be thought of." She thanked in threw the paper into the fire.

mind had been highly cultivated by education; she amiliarly the French and Spanish languages, underltalian, and replied with correctness to foreigners who sed her in Latin; and her conferences, as related by a in his despatches, shew her to have possessed an and vigorous mind.

did not follow the custom of her predecessors in their r journeys through the different counties, but confined cursions to the manor of Croydon, which belonged to arch of Canterbury; there she walked out with her without any distinction of dress, and visited the dwell— the neighbouring poor; and where the family was ans, often apprenticed, at her own expense, such of the as appeared of promising dispositions. During her nuch attention was paid to the interests of the uniss of Oxford and Cambridge, and several individuals I their fortunes to the progress of learning. Sir s Pope founded Trinity College in Oxford, making a lar regulation that its inmates should acquire "a just or the graces and purity of the Latin tongue." Sin

MARY.

Thomas Dr. Cai

established St. John's; and the celebrated Cambridge, endowed the hall which we

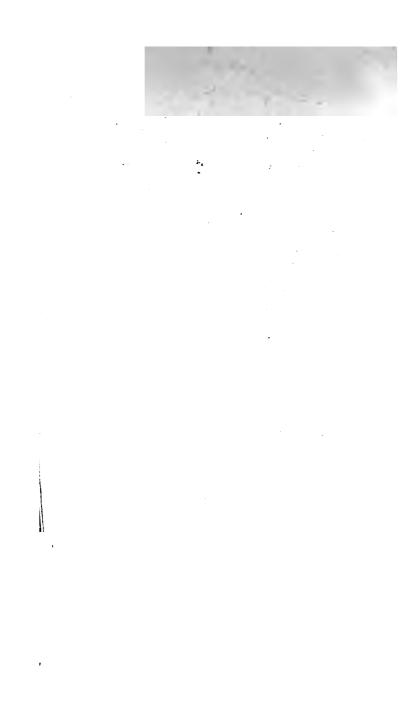
Ma .oncitude for the equal administration of justice may be inferred from the following admonition to Morga, chief justice of the common pleas. "I charge you, sir, said she, "to minister the law and justice indifferently, without respect of person, and notwithstanding the old error among you, which will not admit any witness to speak, or other matter to be heard in favour of the adversary, the crown being a party, it is my pleasure that whatever can be brought in favour of the subject may be admitted and heard. You sit there, not as advocates for me, but as indifferent judges between me and my people."—Lingard, vol. vii. 335.

In 1557, the czar, John Basilovitch, sent his ambassador from Russia to our court, and queen Mary signed the first treaty which was concluded between the two kingdoms; and by which the woollen cloths and coarse linens of England were exchanged for the valuable skins and furs of the northern regions.

The government of Ireland followed the proceedings in England. There the legitimacy and right of the queen were affirmed; the ancient service was restored, and the papal authority acknowledged. The lord deputy moulded the two districts of Ofally and Leix, into the King's County and Queen's County, in honour of Philip and Mary.

END OF VOL. I.

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